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MARCH MEETING, 1909.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the senior Vice-President, SAMUEL A. GREEN, in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library, and reported the gift by the President of twelve interleaved almanacs, 1738-1784, ten of which had belonged to and had been annotated by Rev. William Smith, pastor of Weymouth, 1734-1783, the father of Abigail the wife of John Adams. Extracts will be printed in the Proceedings.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that Worthington C. Ford had accepted his election as a Resident Member, and Lyon Gardiner Tyler, of Williamsburg, Virginia his election as a Corresponding Member.

The senior VICE-PRESIDENT reported the appointment by the Council of the following Committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year,

Messrs. Nathaniel Paine, Morton Dexter, and James F. Hunnewell.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,

Messrs. S. Lothrop Thorndike and Thomas Minns.

To examine the Library and Cabinet,

Messrs. Lindsay Swift, Edward H. Clement. and Fred-
eric Winthrop.

Mr. RHODES, referring to the new issue of postage stamps by the United States Post Office, announced a gift of a set of die proofs which he had received from the President, Mr. Adams, now in Washington, and of which he wrote:

The "set of die proofs" of the issue of stamps is a unique possession, which the Society owes to the courtesy of Mr. Meyer. This set comes to the Society by special favor, and, as a rarity, is of great value. So far as Mr. Dalton and his instrumentality in securing the change and recurrence to the old historic system of stamps are con-

cerned, this material and the Postmaster-General's letter make the record in our Proceedings complete and unique. It has a very considerable interest historically.

Mr. RHODES then read the following letter written while Mr. Meyer was Postmaster-General:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 26, 1909.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS, — I am enclosing you herewith a set of die proofs of the new issue of postage stamps including the Lincoln Commemorative Stamp.

The simplicity of design and artistic qualities are due primarily to a pamphlet by Charles H. Dalton (called to my attention by the author), in which certain suggestions are made together with an account of the Houdon statue of Washington. For reasons therein mentioned I confined the busts to the head of Washington, with the exception of the one-cent stamp, representing Franklin, also from a Houdon statue.

The exclusive use of the heads of Franklin and Washington (the first Postmaster-General of this country and the first President of the United States) is not a new departure, but simply a return to the original practice of the Department in 1847. On the new stamps all unnecessary lettering has been eliminated.

The same policy was carried out by me in the case of the stamped envelopes, the one-cent presenting the head of Franklin and the others that of Washington. I enclose a specimen of each.

As the Department is indebted to the late Charles H. Dalton, of Boston, for the admirable suggestions which were adopted, I am very glad to fulfil your wish by sending a set of the die proofs of these stamps for the Massachusetts Historical Society. Faithfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

The vote which follows was reported from the Council and was passed unanimously:

The Massachusetts Historical Society had its attention called to the chaotic and inartistic condition of our postage stamps, at its January meeting of 1906, by an interesting paper from Charles H. Dalton.¹ Mr. Dalton recommended the adoption of the Houdon head of Washington on all of the stamps except the one-cent stamp, which should bear the head of Franklin. The Postmaster-General has issued new series with the Houdon head on all the denominations except the one-cent and the ten-cent special delivery stamps; the one-cent stamp has

¹ 2 Proceedings, xx. 6-12.

the Houdon Franklin head. The different denominations which bear the Washington head are distinguished by different colors, and those colors are well selected and satisfying to the eye. The result is a really beautiful series of stamps.

The Massachusetts Historical Society desires therefore to thank the former Postmaster-General, George v. L. Meyer, for his good judgment and artistic selection.

Mr. NORCROSS, for the Committee on the subject of re-naming streets and squares, described the Act passed by the General Court and signed by Governor Draper on March 2.

Dr. EVERETT, in connection with the names of Boston streets, called attention to the great want of taste, to use no harsher name, which has been displayed in naming the Boston Grammar Schools. At the present moment the hysterical adoration of Mr. Lincoln's memory which is sweeping over the country has led to a proposal to give up the names of Winthrop and Brimmer, substituting for both the name "Abraham Lincoln," though there is already a Lincoln school. To do away with the name of Winthrop, the greatest American of the years preceding the Revolution, is in violation of all propriety and gratitude. That name as given to a school superseded that of Johnson, which recalled the single romantic incident in the founding of the Bay Colony, and ought never to be itself superseded.

Several of the school names, however we may respect the individuals for whom they are named, are in the worst possible taste; those, namely, with the middle initial, — John A. Andrew, Thomas N. Hart, Henry L. Pierce, William E. Russell. Names like Charles Sumner, Phillips Brooks, and Washington Allston are not quite so bad; but the simple surname would be in every respect more graceful. It is just possible that such a course would lead to uncertainty; thus, it might be doubtful if a Sumner School in East Boston were commemorative of Senator Charles Sumner or of General William H. Sumner. But what harm would there be in using a name in the form to commemorate two public men who have both deserved well of Boston?

Some schools, the Agassiz and Russell for instance, have been named for men who had no connection with Boston at all. It is most appropriate that their names should be attached

to schools in Cambridge, but not in Boston, one result being that the name of Otis, honorable alike in national and municipal history, has disappeared. Some remonstrance against this chaotic nomenclature might well proceed from the Society.

Dr. EVERETT called attention to some inaccuracies, not easy to excuse, in prominent writers. He recalled to the members a paper which he had presented some years ago on the Last Royal Veto¹—afterwards expanded in the *Atlantic Monthly*. He showed there that while most historians left the veto unmentioned, the few who did mention it assigned it to 1707. The real date is March, 1707–8, which the new style, universal in modern histories, will call 1708. Yet the late lamented Professor Maitland, in his history of the English Constitution, repeats the old error; he appears never to have looked up the facts.

The same writer, in speaking of the Usurpation of the House of Lancaster, says the "Earl of York" was on friendly terms with Henry V. This is Shakespeare's "Edward, the Duke of York." If an American writer had made such a blunder, English revisers would have been unsparing of their sneers.

Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, as is well known, is engaged in publishing a series of novels. Just as Christopher North remarked on the *Æneid*, that one takes but little account of its hero, since its real interest is in the heroine, namely, the Eternal City herself, so Dr. Mitchell, who fancies he is writing about Washington and Jefferson and a pair of lovers, really has for his heroine the City of Philadelphia, dwelling as he does with intense affection on Willings, Whartons, Cadwaladers, and Chews. In the "Red City," which describes events in Washington's second term (1793–1797), he alludes to the lottery raised for the benefit of Princeton College, and makes one of his characters say that the Middle States ought to follow the example of Massachusetts, where lotteries are forbidden. Lotteries were not forbidden by law in this State till 1821, when the Hon. Peter C. Brooks exposed their pernicious effect. In the beginning of the nineteenth century several of the Harvard College buildings were erected by means of a lottery.

The senior VICE-PRESIDENT said:

I would remind the members that now it is just ten years since the Society has occupied the present building. The first

¹ 2 Proceedings, v. 156–163.

meeting held here took place in March, 1899; and during this period of time practically one half of the present membership has been chosen, or, to be exact, forty-eight out of ninety-nine members. It follows that one half of the Society to-day has no close connection with the former building in Tremont Street and has no associations with the old Dowse room.

It was formerly the custom of a few of the members, who were generally spoken of as "The Saints," to meet around the Dowse table near midday and talk over historical matters, at the same time discussing whatever was uppermost in their minds. In this group Mr. Winthrop was easily first in leading the informal conversation; and Dr. Ellis usually was present, together with Mr. Frothingham, Dr. Robbins, Mr. Deane, Mr. T. C. Amory, Dr. Shurtleff, Mr. Sabine, and others. A lofty staircase of two flights led up to the story where the main library and the Dowse room were situated. It required a man with a strong heart to reach the top without being blown.

I remember on one occasion when Dr. Holmes came puffing into the room, he suggested that the name of the Society be changed to the "High-story-cal." In making the ascent of the stairway I have counted the iron steps so often that their number, forty-nine, is now fixed indelibly in my memory. The building was in process of erection at the time of the great fire in November, 1872; and of the members who before that date came to the still older rooms on the same site, only six are now living.

Mr. NORCROSS exhibited two deeds of land in the towns of Bedford and Carlisle, dated in July and August, 1755, bearing "impressed" stamps of the value of fourpence and twopence required under "An Act for granting to his Majesty several duties upon vellum, parchment and paper, for two years, towards defraying the charges of this Government,"¹ passed January 8, 1755. This Act provides, beside other things, for a duty on every piece of vellum or parchment, sheet or piece of paper, "on which any deed or mortgage of any real estate, the consideration whereof shall be twenty pounds or more, shall be engrossed or written, fourpence"; and when the consideration shall be less than twenty pounds, twopence.

¹ Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay (Boston, 1878), iii. 793-796.

On March 14, 1755, Governor Shirley issued his proclamation publishing "s^d Marks & Stamps." The device of the fourpence stamp is described as "a Schooner under Sail," with the motto in the ring round it, "Steady, steady"; of the twopence as "a Cod Fish," with the motto "Staple of the Massachusetts"; of the threepence as "a Pine-Tree," with the motto "Province of the Massachusetts"; and of a halfpenny as "a Bird," with the words "Half Penny."¹ These deeds belong to the Bedford Free Public Library.

Mr. STANWOOD read the following paper:

A FORGOTTEN INCIDENT OF THE STATE RIGHTS CONTROVERSY.

The contest over the question of State rights was waged long and fiercely in the years before the Civil War. Great issues sometimes, trivial matters often, were the objects of controversy. Those who upheld the doctrine of the sovereignty of the States and the incompetence of the general government to go one step beyond the point allowed by the strictest construction of the "federal" — never the "national" — Constitution, were ever on the alert to discern and to rebuke trespass.

A case of their extraordinary sensitiveness which I fancy has been entirely forgotten, which certainly is not mentioned in any work on American political history with which I am familiar, may interest or at least amuse the members of the Society a few moments. I came across it in the course of a study of the apportionments of representatives among the several States, from the beginning of the government under the Constitution down to the present time.

Every one knows that the Constitution directs Congress to apportion representatives to the respective States in proportion to their population, and leaves to each State the privilege of regulating the times, places, and manner of their election. But it gives to Congress the right "to make or alter such regulations." In the early times there was not the least uniformity of election in any particular. Elections were held on many different days; sometimes the election lasted two or three days. In some States the *viva voce* system prevailed, in others the ballot. Some of the States were divided into single districts;

¹ Acts and Resolves, Massachusetts Bay (Boston, 1878), iii. 834.

others had single, double, and triple districts, in one case a district electing four members; still others elected all their members by a general ticket. Prior to the year 1842 Congress had never made or altered any regulation regarding the election of representatives, and whatever approach to uniformity had been made — very little, indeed — was merely the result of imitation and was dictated by no other motive than the convenience of a change of system.

It may or may not be within the knowledge of Americans generally that a corresponding liberty to the States to appoint the electors of President and Vice-President, originally resulting in a like diversity of system, gradually produced something very near to uniformity. When Madison was elected the first time in 1808, the Constitution then having been in force nearly twenty years, and five previous elections having been held, electors were chosen by the legislatures in seven States, by popular vote on general ticket in five, by popular vote in single districts in four, and by popular vote in two districts, each choosing four electors, in one. The demand of the people for the right to choose them directly steadily increased the number of States granting the choice by popular vote until in 1836 South Carolina alone made the appointment by the legislature. That State did not change its system until after the Civil War.

The adoption of the general ticket system proceeded at the same time, but did not become general until four years later, in 1840. In 1832 four of the States chose their electors by districts. New York gave twenty votes to Jackson and sixteen to Adams. The controlling reason for abandoning the district system need hardly be stated. Although New York gave a popular majority to Jackson, and its total vote was almost one fourth of the vote of the whole country, it gave but four effective electoral votes to Jackson out of a total of 261. At the next election it gave Jackson 42 votes on a popular majority of less than fourteen thousand.

It is easy to see that such a lesson as that would not be lost upon the hot partisans of the time when they came to consider the matter of electing representatives in Congress. A closely divided State might have but one or two effective votes in the organization of the House and in legislation upon the burning questions of the tariff, or internal improvements, or the

Bank, or the public land revenues. On the other hand, by adopting the general ticket system they might send a unanimous delegation to Washington. It is not surprising therefore to find that in Van Buren's time some of the States deliberately abandoned the district system, and the matter of doing the same thing was agitated and proposed in other States—some of them large States which would thus acquire undue and preponderating influence in one branch of Congress.

This was the situation in 1842, when Congress was to make a new apportionment under the Census of 1840. It was the first year of Tyler's administration, and the Whigs were in power. A section was put in the apportionment bill requiring that in every State entitled to more than one member election should be by single districts. This provision excited the most earnest, even violent, opposition, and the debates upon it in both Houses were long and angry. Every conceivable objection was made to it. Some States wished to be exempted from the operation of the clause so far as the next—the twenty-eighth—Congress was concerned, on the ground that the time of election was so near that it would be impossible to obey it without an extra session of the legislature. But they were all Democratic States, and the Whigs, warned by Democratic threats that they would repeal the section at the first opportunity, refused to exempt them and thus make easier the election of a Democratic House.

It was objected that the proposed law was not a regulation of the "times, places or manner" of the election and therefore was not within the power of Congress. Or—for this radical objection was not made by all the opponents—if it was apparently sanctioned by the Constitution, that instrument clearly intended that the States should make the regulations, and that Congress should "make" them only when the States, or any State, failed to do so, and should "alter" them only when the States made improper, unjust, or unfair regulations; as, for example, if they were to require that all elections in a State should be held within a single county.

One of the senators went so far as to maintain that the section was unconstitutional for this reason: that the representatives of a State were allotted to the State as a whole, and that therefore all the people of the State had a right to a voice in the election of all. He maintained, accordingly, that it was

an unconstitutional trespass upon the rights of the people when any State legislature adopted the district system, and restricted the right of individual citizens to a participation in the choice of one representative only. Although it was pointed out that Virginia was districted for the election of members to the first Congress, and that Washington and Madison, who were members of the Convention of 1787, probably knew something about the Constitution, the view of this senator found some support in both branches of Congress.

Among others who most strenuously opposed the section were two senators of very different mould and political character, — Silas Wright, of New York, and Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire. New York was entitled to forty members, who were chosen in thirty-three districts. New York City formed one district and chose four members, and there were four other double districts. A great stand was made upon a proposed amendment that it should not be required in any State that a city or county should be divided. But this, also, was voted down by the Whig majority. The twelve members elected in the double and quadruple districts of New York were ten Democrats and two Whigs. Then Mr. Wright put to the advocates of the section this poser. If you pass this measure and any State refuses to be bound by it, what will you do? The Constitution says you may make or alter these regulations. But you are not making a regulation. You are merely commanding the States to make a regulation. You may command, but you cannot compel, the States to obey. Any power which Congress has, it has the power to enforce. How will you enforce this? Will you send an army into a State and compel the governor to summon the legislature, and then will you force the legislature to pass a districting law? If you have the power to require members to be elected by single districts, — and Mr. Wright conceded the power, — you must carry out your purpose to the end and establish the districts. Suppose, then, a State refuses to obey your command to take action under this section; suppose that it continues to hold its elections by general ticket; and suppose that the members so chosen present themselves in the Hall of the House of Representatives at the beginning of the next Congress. Will the House refuse to receive them? Can it refuse? Is not the sovereign State entitled to a specified number of mem-

bers? Will the House dare to send them back to their constituents?

Of course this is a mere paraphrase of Mr. Wright's speech, but it presents faithfully the points that he made.

It is not necessary to report in detail the reply that was made to these points. Briefly, Mr. Wright was reminded that when Congress laid a direct tax, the authority to do which was found in the same clause of the Constitution as the provision for apportionment of representatives, the States were commanded to do something and were obliged to obey. Also, that if any State were to refuse to comply with a regulation which Congress had a right to make, it would thereby sacrifice the privilege of representation — that it would be its own act, and not the act of Congress. But the Whig senators were evidently not altogether sure that members elected on general ticket would encounter a refusal to allow them to take the oath.

Senator Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, was a good example of a stiff, uncompromising Democrat. He served notice on the Senate that as he believed the section under discussion to be unconstitutional and an invasion of the rights of the States, he should advise the people and the legislature of New Hampshire to disregard and disobey it. He vaguely intimated that he should like to see the next House of Representatives daring to refuse admission to New Hampshire members elected on general ticket in accordance with New Hampshire law. But neither Mr. Wright's arguments nor Mr. Woodbury's threats had any effect upon the Whig majority, and the apportionment bill contained the obnoxious section.

Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Alabama, of which three had previously elected by general ticket and three had multiple districts, all obeyed the law, and chose their members by single districts. New Hampshire, Georgia, Mississippi, and Missouri did not, but chose their representatives by general ticket. They returned 20 Democrats and 2 Whigs. The House as a whole was made up of 140 Democrats and 69 Whigs. When the members met for the first time in December, 1843, for organization, objection was made to the New Hampshire members as not having been duly elected. But the majority would not permit the

objection to be effective. They refused to allow the member who raised the objection to read his formal protest, and when a motion was made that he be permitted to read it, they interposed the point that the clerk of the previous House, who was presiding, had no right to put a motion to vote. So the protest was unheeded, the members from the four States were sworn in as though they had been elected in accordance with law, and nothing more was heard of their case. Georgia adopted the district system for the election to the twenty-ninth Congress, but the other three States adhered to the general ticket. For the thirtieth Congress all four of the States conformed to the law.

Mr. CLEMENT communicated a paper as follows :

A little paper written years ago by a lately deceased brother of mine¹ describing the rout of the battle of Bull Run as he saw it with the eyes of a boy and a boy's love of the marvellous seems to me to possess some value historically for the intimate, unconscious picturing, along with it, of the state of the public mind on the eve of the so-called "great uprising." It seems to illustrate well the truth that the great Civil War, as a war, was really a surprise,—to the people of the North at least; that the idea persisting up to the day of the battle of Bull Run at the back of the mind of everybody was that in some way the war-cloud would blow over, that the actual shock of contending armies and the pouring out of blood of citizens in civil war would be prevented or in some way avoided. The occasion of the trip to Washington, to carry dainties to a soldier brother, the occasion of the extension of the partly sight-seeing journey to the first battle-field of the great war, the commission from the horror-struck authorities at home to find and bring back from Virginia the body of the first Massachusetts soldier to fall,—all prove the naïveté of the popular conceptions at that time of what it was to enter upon war. This Chelsea boy,² whose body my brother was bidden by the mayor of their native place to recover and send home at all costs, was but the first of the fated host of three hundred and

¹ Andrew J. Clement, First Sergeant, Company M, First Massachusetts Cavalry, died at Morton, Pennsylvania, February 27, 1908.

² Philander Crowell, Company H, First Massachusetts Volunteers.

sixty thousand young men about to die for their country in the ensuing four years. I remember distinctly the consternation of the community when it was found that the Chelsea company of the First Massachusetts Infantry had been in the sharp action which was the first engagement in the approaching collision of the main armies, and that men had actually been shot and killed. The sickening realization was akin to that feeling my eldest brother¹ in that regiment had confessed to me when I was visiting him at the assembling and training camp at Readville and the new army wagons in their fresh blue paint and white canvas arrived on the scene in long array. "It looks as though we were really going," he remarked ruefully.

I find a pretty complete picture of the psychology of those bewildered and dreadful weeks and months in two speeches of Wendell Phillips in that series of wonderful orations in which he rode the storm seeking to direct it to great issues. Some of these speeches I had the fortune to hear. I have been looking up certain things I heard delivered in that deliberate utterance of his with its polished periods, precise and penetrating as rifle-shots, yet freighted with passion, white-hot with intense conviction. It is only necessary to compare these two speeches of Phillips's to show how men's minds tossed and turned and agonized in those days, — the minds of honest, independent, fearless, conscientious men, too. In a speech of April 9, 1861, at New Bedford, Wendell Phillips was in Cassandra vein. Besides many other epigrammatic deliverances to similar effect, he said :

Inaugurate war, we know not where it will end ; we are in no condition to fight. The South is poor ; we are rich. The poor man can do twice the injury to the rich man that the rich man can do to the poor. War will start up every man whose livelihood hangs upon trade, intensifying him into a compromiser. Those guns fired on Fort Sumter are only to frighten the North into a compromise. If the Administration provokes war it is a trick, — nothing else. It is the masterly cunning of that devil of compromise, the Secretary of State. He is not mad enough to let the States run into battle. He knows that the age of bullets is over. If a gun is fired in Southern waters it is fired at the wharves of New York, at the bank-vaults of Boston, at the money of the North. It is meant to alarm. It is policy, not sincerity.

¹ William B. Clement, Company H, died at Chelsea, July 18, 1896.

Thus in New Bedford, April 9; and no wonder that the local reporter records that the lecture was interrupted with frequent hisses. Twelve days later, on a Sunday, April 21, the same day that Fletcher Webster addressed an out-door meeting in State Street, speaking from the Old State House balcony, Phillips addressed an excited, crowded meeting in Music Hall. That day Phillips was the prophet militant. He began by saying that he gave this war a welcome "hearty and hot." He would not recant or retract anything, he said; he needed everything he had been saying to justify so momentous an evil as civil war.

I rejoice before God to-day for every word that I have spoken counselling peace; but I rejoice also with an especially profound gratitude, that now, the first time in my anti-slavery life, I speak under the stars and stripes, and welcome the tread of Massachusetts men marshalled for war. No matter what the past has been or said; to-day the slave asks God for a sight of this banner, and counts it the pledge of his redemption. Hitherto it may have meant what you thought, or what I did; to-day it represents sovereignty and justice. The only mistake that I have made was in supposing Massachusetts wholly choked with cotton-dust and cankered with gold. The South thought her patience and generous willingness for peace were cowardice; to-day shows the mistake. . . .

All winter long I have acted with that party which cried for peace. The anti-slavery enterprise to which I belong started with peace written on its banner. We imagined that the age of bullets was over; that the age of ideas had come; . . . The South opened this [door to the solution] with cannon-shot, and Lincoln shows himself at the door. The war, then, is not aggressive, but in self-defence, and Washington has become the Thermopylæ of Liberty and Justice. Rather than surrender that Capital, cover every square foot of it with a living body; crowd it with a million of men, and empty every bank vault at the North to pay the cost.¹

This speech was surely worth thousands of men to the government, but such is the constitutional cowardice of professional managing politicians that those of that day thought it prudent, for the sake of winning over to loyalty the so-called War Democrats, to have the speech suppressed, and all the docile daily papers did suppress it. It was circulated to the number of a hundred thousand as a supplement extra of the weekly called

¹ W. Phillips, *Speeches* (Boston, 1884), 396-400.

"The Anglo-African." Even so late as October of that year the Republican State Convention, according to an exultant editorial of the "Boston Daily Advertiser," "certainly disavowed any intention of endorsing the fatal doctrines announced by Mr. Sumner in that convention," and also buried Rev. James Freeman Clarke's resolution in favor of freeing the slaves, as the esteemed contemporary of that day predicted, "never to rise again." By another year the Emancipation proclamation had issued, and three months later Massachusetts idealists speaking through Wendell Phillips could say: "A blundering and corrupt cabinet has made it at last an inevitable necessity, — Liberty or Death. The cowardice of Webster's followers in the cabinet has turned his empty rhetoric into solemn truth; and now honest men are not only at liberty, but bound to live and die under his motto, — 'Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.'" The country's baffling search to find its ground, its rising determination to yield thus far and no farther, the stand taken at last, the great defeat that first befell, the high idealism, the spirit of the hour, — all are seen in the brief, intimate account written for the family circle at home of the experiences and feelings of one representative Boston youth of twenty, soon after to be a full-fledged three years' man, a hero who rode in the First Massachusetts Cavalry from Virginia to Florida and back again.

"The First Massachusetts Infantry was the first regiment to leave the State for three years' service in the national cause; and, indeed, is said to have been the first three years' regiment in the service of the United States." To the call from the War Department of May 8, 1861, for volunteers for three years, "the First Regiment immediately and unani-mously responded," though the other regiments which had gone from the State were enlisted for three months only. The First left Boston on June 15, 1861, and reached Washington on the 18th, and the next day marched, with the temperature at 90°, to a camp beyond Georgetown and was at once put under strictly military discipline, being there in the enemy's country. It was not till July 16 that the regiment marched into Virginia with three other regiments, and the next night bivouacked at Centreville.

The battle of Blackburn's Ford, July 18, in which the Chelsea soldiers fell, was an affair of outposts, resulting from

General McDowell's purpose to "feel of the enemy." It was begun by shots from the Rebels posted in the woods bordering Bull Run. Both sides were soon at work with artillery. Companies G and H of the First Regiment had advanced through a gully, or dry ravine, leading into Bull Run, until they found themselves exposed to a murderous fire from three different directions. For at least half an hour they remained in this position unable to advance or retreat. The New York Twelfth on their flank fell back, and a general retrograde movement soon followed, with a stand taken at Centreville. The only valuable result of the reconnoissance was the bringing under fire for the first time of some thousands of raw troops. Thirteen men of the First Regiment were killed, and as many more wounded and taken prisoners. Rev. Warren H. Cudworth, chaplain of the regiment, published in 1866 a very full and lively history of its operations.

THE BULL-RUN MUSKET.

A single dead soldier of the Union army was an object of intense public interest up to the date of the battle of Bull Run in July, 1861.

There were two lads of us who left Boston to visit our brothers — both of whom were in the army and in the same company. We expected to find the Army at Washington; and we each carried a box of dainties to delight our brothers with. On reaching Washington, we were sorely disappointed to find that the army had started on its march to Richmond; and that no civilians were allowed to follow — not even to cross the Potomac into Virginia. So there was nothing to do but see the sights in Washington and return to our homes. But we had been there only two days when the news came of a fight or skirmish on July 18th at Blackburn's Ford, where several were killed, and one of the dead was the brother of my companion. It was a terrible blow to my friend, and a great shock for me.

We immediately telegraphed home, and at once came the reply "Get the body, if you can, and send it home." Well, we two lads went to the War Department and I suppose our sorrowful tale moved them with compassion, for they gave each of us a pass to go to the front to get the body of the dead soldier. I've got that pass stowed away now, among my papers, as a War curiosity. It reads,

Allow the bearer, Mr. Andrew J. Clement, to pass the lines and go to the Front for the body of a friend.

DRAKE DE KAY
Aid de Camp.

Later in the war, the death of a soldier was of too little importance to awaken such sympathy at Headquarters. Indeed, two days later, there were thousands killed within two miles of the spot where those killed in this skirmish were buried. After much difficulty, we hired a light wagon in which my friend rode, while I got a seat in an army wagon that was taking out supplies. It was just midnight on Saturday July 20th when we started from Willard's Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue. There was a full moon, and the night was lovely. I was all excitement. I was going to join the army. I should see my brother, and perhaps I should see the big battle everybody was talking about as soon to be fought.

Well, I saw all that I expected to see and a good deal more. As the horses toiled painfully all that night over the rough and hilly roads. I little thought that on the very next night I should be more painfully trudging back over that very route footsore and weary, a gun on my shoulder — and ready to fight if the victorious enemy came up with us. Yet such was the case, and the gun in the hall is the one that I carried to Washington after the battle of Bull Run, July 21st, 1861.

Of course the ride that beautiful night was too exciting for sleep. It was just after daybreak, when we were taking a hasty breakfast at a small tavern, that we heard the first boom of a heavy gun. This was the gun that opened the great battle of Bull Run. We were yet six miles away from the army — and all were impatient to reach our destination. The horses were kept at their best working pace, and when we had gone three miles we met troops marching towards us. These were certain regiments that would n't fight because the ninety days of their term of service had just expired. They looked thoroughly ashamed of themselves, and marched in great disorder. The officer with our wagon, and the soldier who drove it, both scoffed at them and called them sneaks and cowards; and, cowards as they were, they did n't resent the insults. For myself, I felt as though they all deserved shooting when they got to Washington.

An hour later we reached Centreville and looked down on the battlefield. Hastily finding where my friend's dead brother was buried, I left him to his mournful task of recovering the corpse while I went to find my own brother whom I yet hoped to meet alive. But it was n't an easy task. The line of battle was long; and, in spite of my inquiries, I went wrong. I went to the right wing only to find that the regiment I sought was probably away off on the left wing. Nobody seemed able to give exact information, and everybody wanted to know what a boy in black clothes and a straw hat was doing on the battlefield. Once I went up and sat down in the rear of a battery of light artillery to watch the effect of the firing, and the Capt. drove me off with terrible oaths. But I went around a small farm house and crept

back again, and saw the grapeshot scatter the "rebs." And so I went on from point to point, staring and asking questions, and being stared at and questioned in return. At length I learned that the regiment I wanted was at the extreme left. So off I started, already weary from loss of sleep, excitement and tramping under the hot sun.

Arriving at the left, I again was attracted by a battery in action, and it was while I stood entranced with excitement that my brother discovered me. His regiment was lying in the bush close by supporting this very battery. Never was a man more surprised than was he at that moment. He supposed I was at home in Boston. But, before he would talk, he made me go into the woods and lie down with the soldiers so as to be in less danger. And there I crawled around and shook hands with nearly a hundred men whom I had known all my life. Many were the questions I answered, and scores of messages were given me to take home to parents and friends. The boys seemed very sad — for a member had been killed in this company only three days before, and they expected to be actively fighting again at any moment. At length my brother insisted that I should go back to Centreville out of danger, and I started with a heavy heart. But secretly I resolved to try to go to Richmond with the army, for I felt sure it would only take a few days. Up to that time it seemed to be victory for us; and I did n't believe it could possibly be otherwise. So I went back to Centreville. I was very hungry as well as tired. It was now past four o'clock in the afternoon.

I soon found a group of sick officers who were about to dine off of boiled beef close by the army wagon in which I had come from Washington. They asked me to join them. I had just got fairly seated when the astounding news came that our army was defeated and was retreating. I didn't believe it; but I rushed to the hilltop to see for myself. Down there on the plain, where I had been in the morning, there was certainly much dust and confusion. Just then fresh troops, the reserves, started to go down, but even to my inexperienced eye it was plain that they went in bad order and went too late. It was there that I saw the general who wore two hats — one crushed over the other — and who was reported in newspaper accounts of the scene as being very drunk that day. He certainly appeared decidedly drunk at that moment.

Wild with excitement, I rushed down hill too; but long before I got where I had been a few hours before, I met the rush of panic stricken men coming pell-mell from the field. To resist this rush was impossible and worse than useless. Wagons driven at full speed came with the men. Shouted curses filled the air. Wagons broke down, and, cutting the harnesses, men mounted the horses and rode off toward Centreville. Muskets were thrown away and filled the road for a long distance. It

was there that I picked up my gun, begged a pocket full of ammunition, and resolved to do my share when the terrible Black Horse Cavalry reached us — for it was reported that they were coming at full speed. Ere long I reached Centreville again, and left the rush to look for my wagon. It had gone, long before, in the grand stampede for Washington. That didn't worry me much then — I thought I would find my brother again; and fight in company with the boys I grew up with. So I waited and waited at Centreville till the sun got low. I saw at length that it would be useless to try to find anybody. There were several roads; and all were full of disorganized troops.

But the first mad rush was over. *All* the army did not run. *I* did not run a step. It was nearly sunset when I left Centreville; and, as I was terribly hungry, I stopped, after going about a mile, and joined two of N. Y. 69th regiment who were having a regular feast out of a broken down and abandoned sutler's wagon. I remember that I ate a whole can of roast chicken and many sweet biscuits, and washed the whole down with some sherry wine drank from the bottle — my first experience in wine drinking.

Much refreshed, I took up my musket and started for Washington with an oddly mixed crowd of gay militia uniforms representing parts of many regiments. Yet there were still behind us good, orderly, full regiments, that stayed in Centreville till after midnight and came into Washington late the next day in fine marching order. *They* did not run, and my brother's regiment was one of them. It was 10 P. M. when I reached Fairfax Court House. There I rested, sitting on a rail fence, as a motley crowd poured by, each squad saying that the Black Horse Cavalry was coming. So I clung to my musket, though my shoulders began to get a little sore. It was after midnight when I started again. The night was very dark, for heavy clouds obscured the moon. The road, very rough in itself, was now full of materials thrown out of wagons. There were shovels, pickaxes, boxes, barrels, iron mess-kettles, muskets, knapsacks, and all sorts of litter that soldiers could throw away, and over these and the loose stones of the rough road we stumbled in the dark, amid choking dust, and up and down the long rolling hills that the army marched over so often afterwards during that terrible war. Still, I well remember that it seemed to me a sort of wild picnic; and I would clutch my gun and feel of my cartridges in a very determined mood to defend Washington to the death.

Wearily the night wore on; and steadily I tramped, talking in the dark, from time to time, with strangers — men from all parts of the Union whom I did n't see then and probably never saw afterwards. Bad as it was to march in the dust, it was still worse when it began to rain just before daybreak. Gently it came at first; and slowly

the dust became a thick paste of slippery mud. Steadily the storm increased till it became a downpour. I had on a thin black summer suit, a straw hat, and a pair of low cut thin shoes and white stockings. When day broke we were a bedraggled, thoroughly soaked, mud-stained party. Of all that vast crowd probably I presented the worst appearance, for I was the only citizen in that section of the crowd. I bantered jokes with such as were in joking mood, but most of the crowd were now silent and weary. All along the road lay men asleep in the pouring rain. There were blood blisters on my feet, but never once did I stop except to get a drink of water at a brook just after daylight. The rain now fell in torrents; we were literally wading in mud and water.

The thirty miles from Centreville to Washington seemed three times that distance. My gun grew more and more heavy, and I shifted it constantly. It was about ten o'clock Monday forenoon when I reached the Virginia end of Long Bridge. A strong guard was posted there to stop the troops; for Washington was already full of fugitive soldiers. Forcing my way through a vast mob of shouting, cursing soldiers, I reached the officer in charge, and got a rough reception. First he doubted my pass; next he wanted to take away my musket, but I protested that I had saved it from the enemy; and at length he allowed me to pass carrying the gun I had so honestly won. I went down Pennsylvania Avenue much stared at as I limped along. Reaching my hotel, I took a bath and turned into a good bed, thinking of my brother and the thousands of other soldiers who were out in the rain and many of whom would perhaps have no bed to turn into for three years; for there were a few three years regiments even then.

The next day, to my great joy, my brother's regiment marched in and over to Georgetown heights; and, after visiting them there, I sent my gun home by Adams Ex. and took the train for Boston. Said my father, when I got home, "Well, I think you have got enough of war now." "No, sir," I said, and in less than thirty days I had enlisted; and three years from the date of the first battle of Bull Run I was skirmishing about six miles from Richmond — three years — and yet I had n't quite got to Richmond.

That Bull-Run musket is the only war weapon left in the family, and I hope you will keep it in memory of the good work I was willing to do with it even before I was a soldier.

Dr. GREEN then said:

I have listened with intense interest to Mr. Clement's paper, as I was not only present at the skirmish therein described, but as Assistant Surgeon of the First Massachusetts

Volunteers it was my professional duty to look after the wounded on that occasion. I remember vividly the events of that day, July 18, 1861, not only because it was the first time that I ever was under fire, but because it was the greatest fight that up to that time the Union army had fought. I remember, too, the proud record made by the First Massachusetts in that preliminary skirmish. In each of two companies, — G and H, — the regiment lost six men; and Company H — to which Mr. Clement's paper relates — had more men wounded than killed. Nor were these the only losses met by the Old First in that memorable action. The wounded men came under my professional charge, and they received such care as could be given them on the field of battle, scanty though it was. The men who fell in that skirmish — some of them my friends and all my acquaintances — and the scenes of that day left impressions on my mind so deep that I have since accepted without hesitation the fact that "war is hell." This action of July 18 was only a skirmish that preceded the first battle of Bull Run, which was fought three days later on July 21. The armies contending on that day were commanded, respectively, by General McDowell and General Beauregard; and the result is now a matter of history.

As an instance of the changes which the whirligig of time brings round, I will relate a fact that is purely personal. In December, 1878, I was appointed a member of the Commission authorized by Congress to investigate the Yellow Fever Epidemic of that year, and sessions were held in several southern cities, including New Orleans. While the Commission was in session in that city, General Beauregard was a regular attendant at the meetings, and for some days I was thrown much with him, and we talked over together the campaign of 1861. In answer to one of my questions, why the southern army did not follow up their victory and capture the city of Washington, he replied that President Davis was strongly of the opinion that such an event would produce a revulsion of feeling on the part of northern sympathizers with the South and thus would defeat their own purpose.

A few years later, in the summer of 1883, I was a member of the Board of Visitors appointed by the President to make the annual examination at Annapolis, Maryland, where I was thrown into intimate relations with General McDowell, also

a member of the visiting Board. I slept under the same roof with him and ate at the same table, and often we discussed military matters. These two episodes in my life are now pleasant events to remember.

I was deeply impressed with General McDowell's strict abstinence from the use of champagne and other alcoholic liquors. Receiving his early education in France, one would suppose that, like the French boys who were his companions, he would drink Bordeaux wine as freely as milk; but he told me that never in Europe or here was he in the habit of taking anything stronger than water. In my intercourse with him for a week I saw nothing in his life to disprove this statement.

Mr. RHODES said :

The reports in circulation after the Battle of Bull Run, regarding McDowell, are an instance of the hasty and uncharitable judgment of newspapers and their readers. It was at once said that the Union defeat was due to McDowell's intoxication. As a matter of fact McDowell never in his life drank a drop of beer, wine, or any alcoholic beverage, and curiously enough too did not use tobacco in any form. The proof of this is undoubted, but as part of it I may mention the positive assurances of Dr. William H. Russell, the American correspondent of the London Times, sometimes spoken of as "Bull-Run Russell," who knew McDowell well and saw him on the day of the battle, and of Colonel Franklin Haven, who served on his staff during the war. Dr. Russell told me that on the morning of the battle McDowell ate watermelon for breakfast, and the free indulgence in this succulent fruit made him ill, which was the sole foundation for the cruel report.¹

JONATHAN SMITH communicated the following :

The letter read by Mr. Clement forcibly reminds me of what I saw and experienced, as a private soldier, on the retreat of the army from the battlefield of the second Bull Run

¹ Since my statement our associate Barrett Wendell has communicated to me this information : "Edmund Clarence Stedman, who was present at Bull Run as a reporter, told me that on the night before the battle McDowell, hungry after his preparation, was served at his supper with canned fruit, — I think peaches, — and ate heartily of them. The fruit was probably tainted and brought on an attack of cholera morbus, from which Stedman saw him acutely suffering while the battle was in progress." I have no doubt that this is a more accurate version than Russell's.

on the night of August 30, 1862. My regiment, the Sixth New Hampshire, was driven from the field about dark on the last day of the fight. Its last position had been in some thick pine bushes in the rear of the Henry house. In getting out, owing to the darkness and thick underbrush, the men became separated and did not get together again until the next morning at Centreville. Each man made his way to the rear as best he could. The night was very dark and the rain was falling. The road was crowded with soldiers, with such of the wounded as could walk, with ambulances, army wagons, and sections of batteries. There was confusion but absolutely no panic, and no feeling of fright or alarm among the men, though it was reported that Confederates were pursuing. The crowd marched leisurely, there was much laughing and telling stories and incidents of the fight, as was usual among the men on a march.

We did not reach Centreville until one o'clock in the morning, being more than four hours covering a distance of about five miles. Nor was there the slightest exhibition of panic or fright among the men the next day when the army was camped in and about Centreville. There was free expression of bitterness and disappointment at the result of the fight, and while regiments and brigades were much broken up and disorganized, the army would have fought off an attack by the Confederates as resolutely as if it had just won a victory. That the men were neither panic-stricken nor demoralized by their defeat was well shown by the courage and steadiness with which they beat off Jackson's attempt to cut us off by getting into our rear at Chantilly, on September 1. Some of the divisions fighting this battle had been badly cut up at Bull Run, but on no field did the men show better discipline and courage than in the battle of September 1. The campaigns on the peninsula and in front of Washington that summer had transformed the raw volunteers of July, 1861, into veteran soldiers.

Speaking of General McDowell, I am reminded that when we got back to Washington, about September 5, 1862, it was currently reported among us that the second battle of Bull Run had been lost through the cowardice or treachery of Generals McDowell and Porter. The rank and file believed these reports, and I doubt, so great was the anger of the men in Reno's division, whether their lives would have been safe

from violence if those generals had ventured among them. How it was in other divisions I cannot say. A subsequent knowledge of the facts, however, shows how unjust these camp rumors were.

Mr. MATTHEWS made the following remarks:

As members of an historical society, we are probably inclined to be sceptical in regard to family traditions; and no doubt rightly so, for in many if not in most cases they are unreliable. Yet if such traditions are too readily accepted by members of the families in which they are handed down, it is also true that we must be on our guard against going to the other extreme; for occasionally such a tradition, in itself almost unbelievable, turns out to be based on fact. Let me mention what I think are the two most remarkable cases that have come under my notice.

Ten years ago the late Rev. Dr. James D. Butler, of Madison, Wisconsin, wrote to "The Nation":

There is an old tradition in my family that J. B., an ancestor born at Boston in 1665, would never eat roast pork, and gave as the reason for his dislike that its odor brought back to him a sickening whiff of wind from a woman he had seen burned alive at the stake on the Common when he was a 'prentice boy. This story I heard in the twenties — perhaps as early as 1820 — at the table of my father, who in 1770 was old enough to have heard and understood it, if told by his grandfather, whose birth was 1713, and who was himself the grandson of the J. B., the original eye-witness of the tragedy on the Common.¹

For three quarters of a century Dr. Butler vainly sought for confirmation of this tradition, and not until 1899 did he succeed. On September 22, 1681, according to Increase Mather, a negress named Maria was burned to death.² Though Mr. John Noble has sought to show³ that Maria was not actually burned alive, having first been strangled, I am myself unable to see why the sentence was not literally carried out; but even if the point made by Mr. Noble is well taken, there can be no doubt that her body at least was burned. Thus after a lapse of

¹ The Nation, lxi. 187; also 296, 390, 409.

² 1 Proceedings, iii. 320.

³ Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, vi. 323-336.

more than two centuries the tradition in the Butler family was confirmed.

My second case is perhaps not so striking as the above, yet is well worth recording. In June, 1888, a correspondent wrote to the "Magazine of American History" from Chicago :

In the year 1846, while briefly stopping at a hotel in Toledo, Ohio, I made some acquaintance with an old gentleman of very respectable appearance, a Mr. Piatt, who with his son was on his way toward his home at Covington (on the Wabash, as I supposed, yet possibly the Covington opposite Cincinnati, Ohio). In our conversation he informed me that his father's family lived near where Lieutenant Boyd was killed (in Sullivan's campaign), and that Murphy, an Indian fighter of some note, was well known by his father's family, and upon one occasion was chased by an Indian so near the American post, that a soldier fired and killed the red-skin. Some one whose name I have forgotten offered a certain sum to any person who would take off the skin of the Indian's legs sufficient for a pair of boot-legs, which offer was accepted and the work done. Mr. Piatt, when a small boy, often heard the circumstances spoken of, and remembers well seeing the boot-legs more than once ; they had been nicely tanned in Philadelphia, he believed ; it was in 1792 when he last saw them. The possessor valued them highly, and said he trusted they would be kept in his family as a trophy and memorial of the period. Mr. Piatt said that he himself did service in the West, in the war of 1812.¹

Sullivan's campaign took place in 1779. This story was told by Mr. Piatt, who spoke from childish recollection, to a casual acquaintance in 1846, or sixty-seven years after the alleged occurrence of the incident, and the gentleman to whom it was narrated allowed forty-two years more to go by before recording it. Surely, it will be said, we have here every chance of error. Yet, though inaccurate in some of its details, this story, extraordinary and incredible as it may seem, can be proved to be substantially correct. The defeat of the Indians at Newtown (now Elmira) took place August 29, 1779, and on the following day Lieutenant William Barton made this entry in his journal :

At the request of Major Piatt, sent out a small party to look for some of the dead Indians — returned without finding them. Toward noon

¹ Magazine of American History, August, 1888, xx. 156.

they found them and skinned two of them from their hips down for boot legs ; one pair for the Major the other for myself.¹

The Major Piatt alluded to was Major Daniel Piatt, of New Jersey. On August 31 Sergeant Thomas Roberts wrote :

this morning Our trupes found 2 Indians and Skin thear Legs & Drest them for Leggins.²

Whether, as stated by the narrator of the story, the skinning was done by Murphy, cannot be ascertained ; but Murphy certainly served in the campaign. On September 13 Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Hubley wrote :

This Murphy is a noted marksman, and a great soldier, he having killed and scalped that morning, in the town they were at, an Indian, which makes the three and thirtieth man of the enemy he has killed, as is well known to his officers, this war.³

The Lieutenant Thomas Boyd mentioned by the narrator was taken prisoner by the Indians on September 13 and cruelly tortured to death. On September 14 Major John Burrowes wrote :

Here we find Lieut. Boyd and one of the men laying on the ground just on the edge of the town, and so inhumanly murdered it is almost too much to describe. Their heads were cut off and scalpt. They had been whipped horribly. Their bodies speared all over and Lieut. Boyd partly skinned. Such is the barbarity of these savage villains.⁴

Acts of atrocity when committed by Indians are characterized as the "barbarity of these savage villains," but when perpetrated by American officers and soldiers are too often passed over in silence. One cannot but be pained by perusal of the volume from which the above extracts are taken, for, in addition to the destruction of the houses and crops of the Indians — a destruction which perhaps was necessitated by the exigencies of war — it shows a wanton cruelty on the part of the Americans unpleasant to contemplate. After the lapse of more than a century and a quarter, it ought to be possible for American historians to take an impartial view and not blink the fact that deeds of barbarism were by no means confined to one side in our Revolutionary War.⁵

¹ Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians (Auburn, N. Y., 1887), 8 ; ² 244 ; ³ 162 ; ⁴ 48.

⁵ Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, vii. 275-278.

Dr. GREEN read a paper on

SLAVERY AT GROTON IN PROVINCIAL TIMES.

During a long period before the Revolution, like other towns in the Province, Groton had one element in her population which does not now exist, and which to-day has disappeared from almost the whole civilized world. At the beginning of the year 1755 there were fourteen negro slaves in town, seven men and seven women, who were sixteen years old or upward. At that time Townsend had three slaves, two men and one woman; Shirley had one, a man; and Pepperell made no return of having any. Westford had five slaves, but the sex is not given. These facts are gathered from a census of negro slaves, ordered by the public authorities, and printed in the Collections (second series, III. 95-97) of this Society.

In a record book, bound in parchment, now in the office of the clerk of the Middlesex Court at East Cambridge, is the following entry:

GROTON Decem^r 21 / 1719

These may Certifie to whome it may Concern, That William Banks of Groton, and Hannah Wansamug late of Lancaster both in y^e County of Midd^x were Joyned in marriage the 21st day of Decem^r 1719/ at Groton

p^r FRA : FULLAM *Justice of Peace.*

(IV. 194)

William appears to have been a slave belonging to Eleazer Robbins, of Groton, and Hannah was an Indian, belonging to the Natick tribe, and is called in the records "late of Lancaster"; but unfortunately the marriage was not a happy one. With trusting confidence in her husband, the wife bought his freedom, when he proved false to his plight and promise, and deserted her. The story, told in her own words, is found in the Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives (p. 39), June 13, 1724, as follows:

A Petition of *Hannah Banks* Indian, shewing that she bought of *Eleazer Robbins* of Groton his Servant Man's Time, and gave a Bond of *l.* 15 for Payment of the same, that afterwards she married the said Servant Man, who is since absconded, and the said *Robbins* hath put the said Bond in Suit, and cast the Petitioner into Prison in *Boston*, that the Principal Debt with the Charges hath arisen to *l.* 25 which Mr. *Edward Ruggles* of *Roxbury* hath paid for her, praying this Court

would please to enable the said *Edward Ruggles* to Sell such a part of her Land in *Natick*, as will satisfy him for his advance of said Twenty Five Pounds.

Read and committed to the Committee for Petitions.

Mr. Charles E. Goodspeed has given me a bill of sale of a negro slave that was sold more than one hundred and eighty years ago. At that period such sales were not uncommon here, but to-day it seems beyond the bounds of belief that transactions in human traffic should take place in a civilized community. The contrasts of life and the various modes of living as seen at different epochs of time show that "the sun do move," as John Jasper says. The buyer of the boy as well as the seller both were pillars of the church, and in this matter they saw no inconsistency between their deeds and their professions. "Thus the whirligig of Time brings in his revenges." The bill of sale is as follows:

Know All men by these presents That I Benjamin Bancraft of Charlestown in the County of Middlesex in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Tanner for & in Consideration of the Sum of ninty five Pounds in Good Bills of Publick Credit To me in hand paid before the Insealing & Delivery hereof by William Lawrance of Groton in y^e County and Province afores^d Black-Smith The Receipt whereof to full content & Satisfaction I Do hereby acknowledge Have, and by these presents Do Bargain Sell Assign Set over & Deliver unto the Said William Lawrance one Negro Boy aged about Thirteen years — Named Bodee To Have & To Hold the Said Negro Boy unto the Said William Lawrance his heirs Executors Administrators and assigns To his & their only proper use and behoofe forever. And I the Said Benjamin Bancraft for my Selfe my heirs Executors & Administrators Do covenant promise and agree to & with the Said Lawrance his heirs Executors Administrators and assigns To Warrant and Defend y^e Said Negro To him & them forever by these presents, against the Lawfull Claims & Demands of all & every person or persons Whomsoever In witness whereof together with y^e Delivery of said Negro Boy I have hereunto Set my hand & seal y^e Tenth Day of July Anno Dom: 1728. In y^e Second Year of his Majesties Reign

BENJAMIN BANCROFT

SEAL

Signed Sealed & Delivered

In presence of

IACOB AMES

ROBERT BLOOD

The following advertisement, not an unusual one for that period, appears in "The Boston Evening-Post," July 30, 1739:

RAN away from his Master, Mr. John Woods of Groton, on Thursday the 12th of this Instant July, a Negro Man Servant named Cæsar, about 22 Years of Age, a pretty short well sett Fellow. He carried with him a Blue Coat and Jacket, a pair of Tow Breeches, a Castor Hat, Stockings and Shoes of his own, and a Blue Cloth Coat with flower'd Metal Buttons, a white flower'd Jacket, a good Bever Hat, a Gray Wigg, and a pair of new Shoes of his Master's, with some other Things. It is suspected there is some white Person that may be with him, or design to make Use of his Master's Apparel above described.

Whoever shall take up the said Servant, and bring him to his abovesaid Master in Groton, or be a Means of convicting any Person or Confederate with said Servant as above suspected, shall have Five Pounds Reward for each of them, and all necessary Charges paid.

The following marriage is entered in the church records under the date of December 28, 1742, "Priamus (Cap^t Boydens Negro man servant []) to Marg^t Molatto formerly servant to S. S. both of Groton." It is also recorded that Margaret, the servant of Samuel Scripture, Jr., was baptized on January 30, 1733-4, and that she owned the covenant at the same time. The last entry shows that the initials stand for Samuel Scripture, Jr. This negro couple was afterward blessed with a family of children, and they lived on the west side of the Nashua River, a short distance north of the Great Road to Townsend. His surname was Lew or Lue, and his given name became contracted into Primus, a very common name among the blacks; and to this day the rise of ground, near the place where the Pepperell road leaves the Great Road, is known as Primus Hill, so called after him. Mr. Butler, the historian of the town, thinks that perhaps Margaret's other name was also Lew. (See his History, p. 454.) Their eldest child, — Zelah, a corruption of Barzillai, — born at Groton on November 5, 1743, was a famous musician, who lived at Chelmsford and Dracut, and was the father of numerous children who also were musicians. He was a fifer in Captain John Ford's company of the 27th Massachusetts Regiment in service at the siege of Boston, and was present at the Battle of Bunker Hill. See "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War" (IX. 725), for an account of his services.

About the year 1740 there was a negro slave in Groton by the name of Boad, who used to look after the cattle sent up to Groton Gore in the spring to be pastured during the summer. In the summer of 1735 the Province of Massachusetts Bay made a grant of land to the proprietors of Groton, which became known as the Groton Gore. This territory comes now wholly within the State of New Hampshire, lying mostly in Mason, but partly in Brookline, Wilton, Milford, and Greenville. In speaking of this tract of land Mr. John Boynton Hill, in his "History of the Town of Mason, N. H.," says:

Under this grant, the inhabitants of Groton took possession of, and occupied the territory. It was their custom to cut the hay upon the meadows, and stack it, and early in the spring to send up their young cattle to be fed upon the hay, under care of Boad, the negro slave. They would cause the woods to be fired, as it was called, that is, burnt over in the spring; after which fresh and succulent herbage springing up, furnished good store of the finest feed, upon which the cattle would thrive and fatten through the season. Boad's camp was upon the east side of the meadow, near the residence of the late Joel Ames (p. 26).

Undoubtedly Boad, mentioned in this paragraph, is the same slave who, under the name of Bodee, was sold by Benjamin Bancroft to William Lawrence. Among the marriages in the church records of the town, under the date of February 5, 1750-51, the following entry is found, — "Bode to By"; and at that time this probably was considered a sufficient record for the marriage of an enslaved couple. In the year 1751 Abraham Moors owned a slave named Zebina; and she probably was the bride on the occasion.


"The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal," June 13, 1774, has a notice as follows:

Ten Dollars Reward.

RAN AWAY from the Subscriber, *Joseph Moors*, of Groton, in the County of Middlesex, and Province of Massachusetts-Bay, a Molatto Man Servant, named TITUS, about 20 Years of Age, of a midling Statue, wears short curl'd Hair, has one of his Fore-Teeth broke out, took with him a blue Surdan, a Snuff-coloured Coat, and a Pair of white wash'd Leather Breeches, a Pair of new Cow-Hide Pumps and a Furr'd Hat with large Brims, and sundry other Articles of Wearing Apparel.

— Whoever will take up said Servant and confine him in any of his Majesty's Goals, so that the Owner may have him again, shall have TEN DOLLARS Reward and all necessary Charges paid, by

JOSEPH MOORS.

 *All Masters of Vessels and others, are hereby Caution'd against Harboursing, Concealing, or carrying off said Servant, as they would thereby avoid the Penalty of the Law.*

An extract from the town records refers to the birth of Titus, who is here advertised as a runaway by Joseph Moors, a son of Abraham Moors, the former owner of the slave mother. The entry is as follows :

Titus, a molato boy born of Zebinah, a negro slave to M^r Abraham Moors, March , 1751.

Charlestown Edes, a slave belonging to Isaiah Edes, of Groton, served as a soldier in the Revolutionary army. See "Groton during the Revolution" (p. 171). Among the papers now in the possession of the town clerk, are the following :

Charlston Eads Soldier in the Lieu^t Col^l Company In the 15th Massachusetts Regiment having Sarvd Five months and Two days is hearby Dischargd from Said Regiment agreable to General Orders of Yesterday

Given under my hand at Westpoint
this third day of December 1780

TIM^o BIGELOW Col.

Groton march y^e 21st 1781 Sir Pay my Wages to my Master Isaiah Edes and you will Oblidge yrs

Test

ISAAC FARNSWORTH

His
CHARLESTOWN X EDSES
mark

Akin to the subject of slavery in the town is the following item from "The Groton Landmark," November 14, 1885 :

Gov. Boutwell has in an old scrap-book the following interesting Memorandum :

August, 1856.

Noah Shattuck, esq., informs me that there were eleven slaves in Groton when slavery was abolished, and he mentioned the following names: Chloe Williams, Phillis Cutler [Cutter?], Phillis Sartell, Ichabod Davis, Fanny Boyden and William Case. Phineas Wait also owned one slave.

Noah Shattuck, a son of Job and Sarah (Hartwell) Shattuck, was born on August 30, 1772, and died on September 28, 1858; and probably he made the statement from his own personal recollection.

Slavery was never formally abolished in Massachusetts, but it was held by the courts that the Bill of Rights contained in the State Constitution, which was adopted in 1780, swept away this last vestige of feudalism. A nominal existence of the institution flickered for a short period after the adoption of the Constitution, as it took a little time to promulgate the great fact of abolition.

The following notice is printed in "The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser" (Boston), December 28, 1780:

A Negro Child, soon expected, of a good breed, may be owned by any Person inclining to take it, and Money with it. For further Information apply to the Printer.

The following notices appear in "The Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser" (Boston) under the dates, respectively, of January 4 and March 1, 1781.

TO BE SOLD, A hearty strong Negro Wench, about 29 years of age, fit for town or country.

TO BE SOLD, An extraordinary likely Negro Wench, 17 years old, she can be warranted to be strong, healthy, and good natur'd, has no notion of Freedom, has been always used to a Farmer's kitchen and dairy, and is not known to have any failing, *but being with Child*, which is the only cause of her being sold.

Mrs. Mary Sartell, widow of Colonel Josiah Sartell, died on March 30, 1780, aged 80 years. In her will she gives a large number of household utensils "To my maid Phillis, formerly Servant," who was the last survivor of negro slavery within the limits of Groton. The following entry is found in the town records:

Phillis Walby, servant to Josiah Sawtell, Jun., deceased, died at Groton, aged 79, February , 1821.

For twelve or fifteen years before her death Phillis was allowed annually a small sum of money from a charity fund,

which was distributed by the church, and occasionally instead of money a religious book was given. At one time she received a copy of Thomas Scott's *Essays on the most important Subjects of Religion*, and at another a copy of "Henry on Meekness." From these gifts it is fair to infer that her mental training was looked after, as well as her moral, for she evidently knew how to read. I am inclined to think, however, that she valued the pecuniary gift quite as much as the religious instruction gained from books.

Mr. FORD read a letter from the President of the Society, calling attention to the following statement recently printed in the "Boston Evening Transcript" (March 3), which again relates a tradition the truth of which has long since been exploded:

It would be a worthy task for William Austin, who wrote the still famous legend, "Peter Rugg, the Missing Man," to provide an equally becoming symbol for the approaching presidential inauguration. In Peter Rugg's day such an event would have been comparatively simple. Jefferson, for instance, rode on horseback one day to the Capitol, without attendance, dismounted, tied his horse to the fence and walked unceremoniously into the Senate chamber. There he delivered his inaugural address, was sworn into office, and the business was over.

In the "History of the United States," by Henry Adams, I. Chapter VII., is given the whole genesis of this myth or tradition, drawn from official despatches of the time. Mr. Adams there says that the wholly imaginative account of Jefferson's first inauguration, which has passed with many as history, originated with an English scribbler of the day, who "wished to write a book that would amuse Englishmen." Such being the case, it would appear that he has confounded the historical investigator as well, even down to the day that now is.

The subject was referred to in a readable account of "Inaugurations of Simpler Days," printed in the "New York Evening Post," February 27, 1909:

Jefferson was the first President to be inaugurated at Washington. Only the north wing of the new Capitol building had at that time been completed, and it was in the Senate chamber that the ceremony took place. The long, persistent myth that represented Jefferson, in his



A
D E C L A R A T I O N
 OF THE
G E N E R A L C O U R T
 OF THE
M A S S A C H U S E T S

Holden at *Boston* in *New-England*, October 18. 1659. Concerning
 The execution of two Quakers.



Although the justice of our proceedings against William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyer, Supported by the Authority of this Court, the Lawes of the Country; and the Law of God, may rather persuade us to expect encouragement and commendation from all prudent and pious men, then convince us of any necessity to Apologize for the same, yet forasmuch as men of weaker parts, out of pity and commiseration (a commendable and Christian virtue yet easily abused, and susceptible of sinister and dangerous impressions) for want of full information, may be less satisfied, and men of perverser principles, may take occasion hereby to calumniate us, and render us as bloody persecutors, to satisfy the one, and stop the mouths of the other, we thought it requisite to declare. That about three Years since, divers persons, professing themselves Quakers, (of whose pernicious Opinions and Practises we had received intelligence from good hands, from Barbadoes to England, arrived at Boston) whose persons were onely secured, to be sent away by the first opportunity, without censure or punishment, although their professed tenents, turbulent and contemptuous behaviour to Authority would have justified a severer animadversion, yet the prudence of this Court, was exercised, onely in making provision to secure the Peace and Order here established, against their attempts, whose design (we were well assured of by our own experience, as well as by the example of their predecessours in *Munster*) was to undermine and ruine the same. And accordingly a Law was made and published, prohibiting all Masters of Ships, to bring any Quakers into this Jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on penalty of the House of Correction, till they could be sent away: Notwithstanding which, by a back Door, they found entrance, and the penalty inflicted on themselves, proving insufficient to restrain their impudent and insolent obtrusions, was increased by the loss of the ears of those that offended the second time, which also being too weak a defence against their impetuous frantick fury, necessitated us to endeavour our security, and upon serious consideration, after the former experiments, by their incessant assaults, a Law was made, that such persons should be banished, on pain of Death, according to the example of *England* in their provision against Jesuites, which sentence being regularly pronounced at the last Court of Assistants against the parties above named, and they either returning, or continuing presumptuously in this Jurisdiction, after the time limited, were apprehended, & owning themselves to be the persons banished, were sentenced (by the Court) to death, according the Law aforesaid, which hath been executed upon two of them: *Mary Dyer* upon the petition of her Son, and the mercy and clemency of this Court, had liberty to depart within two dayes, which she hath accepted of. The consideration of our gradual proceeding, will vindicate us from the clamorous accusations of severity; our own just and necessary defence, calling upon us (other means sayling) to offer the poynt, which these persons have violently, and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby become felons de se, which might it have been prevented, and the Sovereign Law *Salus populi* been preserved, our former proceedings, as well as the sparing of *Mary Dyer*, upon an inconsiderable intercession, will manifestly evince, we desire their lives absent, rather then their death present.

Printed by their order in

Reprinted in London, 1659

NEW-ENGLAND.

Edward Rawson, Secretary.

A
DECLARATION
OF THE
GENERAL COURT
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS

Holden at Boston in New-England, October 18. 1659. Concerning
The execution of two Quakers.



Although the justice of our proceedings against William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyer, Supported by the Authority of this Court, the Lawes of the Country; and the Law of God, may rather persuade us to expect encouragement and commendation from all prudent and pious men, then convince us of any necessity to Apologize for the same, yet forasmuch as men of weaker parts, out of pitty and commiseration (a commendable and Christian virtue yet easily abused, and susceptible of sinister and dangerous impressions) for want of full information, may be less satisfied, and men of perverser principles, may take occasion hereby to calumniate us, and render us as bloody persecutors, to satisfie the one, and stop the mouths of the other, we thought it requisite to declare.

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Printed by their order in

Reprinted in London, 1659

NEW-ENGLAND.

Edward Rawson, Secretary.

FINIS

every-day clothes, riding alone on horseback from his lodgings to the Capitol, hitching his horse to a fence, and walking unattended to the Senate chamber, has been pretty well dispelled. The story obtained currency principally by reason of its appearance in an English book of travels in which the author strained every point to make the Americans appear uncouth and only partially civilized.

As a matter of fact Jefferson's first inauguration was attended by more ceremony than any since the first inaugural of Washington. The President-elect was met at his lodgings, only a few hundred paces from the Capitol hill, by a body of militia comprising both infantry and cavalry, and a large delegation of citizens, with whom he proceeded on foot to the unfinished Capitol. There in the presence of most of Adams's Cabinet, Vice-President Burr, and the members of Congress, he delivered his inaugural address, and was sworn into office by the new chief justice, John Marshall. President Adams was not present, having left the city early on the same morning, piqued, it is said, at Jefferson's bearing in victory. The afternoon was given up to a reception at Jefferson's boarding house, and the evening to a banquet, the firing of salutes, and a series of mammoth bonfires.

Mr. FORD also submitted a photograph of a broadside issued in London, in 1659, giving the justification prepared by the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay of their dealing with the Quakers, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyer. The original is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, England, and is, so far as is yet known, unique. It is probable that there was a like broadside first issued in Boston, and it will be noticed how closely the English printer has followed the general form of provincial issues of that day; but no copy of such a broadside has been discovered.¹ A second issue appeared with the imprint "London, Printed by A. W. 1660." A copy was sold in London in the recent dispersion of Lord Polwarth's collection, February 15, 1909, and bore a different title, "A True Relation of the Proceedings against certain Quakers, at the Generall Court of the Massachusetts holden at Boston in New England Oct. 18, 1659."

Mr. FORD presented certain letters relating to the English

¹ In the instructions to John Leverett, prepared by the General Court of Massachusetts, December 19, 1660, the seventh paragraph speaks of "our printed declaration and petition to his Majestie" as containing an explanation of the proceedings against the Quakers. Even this reference does not show why two distinct issues were made in London.—Hutchinson's "Collection of Original Papers," 331.

Church in Holland, and others written by men who later came to New England, copied from the originals in the British Museum.

JOHN COTTON TO ARTHUR HILDERSAM.

REVEREND & DEARE S^R, — My wife and selfe comend o^r hearty love to you, and to M^{rs} Hildersam, wth thanks to you both, since wee last enjoyed you. M^r Winters Journey into yo^r parts, giveth me this Opportunity, to send by so safe and ready a Bearer, what you called me to write by M^r Sharpe, an Ep^{le} to y^e Reader of yo^r Booke, addressed to y^e Presse. I have expressed therein my true thoughts, and what I desire might be of some vse to stirre vp yonge men like my selfe, to a more advised and fruitefull Reading of those labo^{rs} of yo^{rs}, which I doubt not will much increase y^e fruite of yo^r Reckoninge, when you are gathered to Rest.

It is now late at night, and this Bearer departeth early in y^e morning : Therefore let me in a word Intreate you, to goe on in communicating what other of yo^r labo^{rs} you may, to y^e hands of all. Noe fishing, like to y^t in y^e broad Sea.

W^{thall}, I pray you, helpe this Bearer in his suite to M^{rs} Martha Temple, so farre as you shall see God's hand making way for him. As his learning is beyond y^e Ordinary measure of his time, and his Grace, more : so this argueth noe comon mercy of God to Him, that his moderation and Industry in his Calling, hath generally found Approbation of all here (for ought I heare) even of those who are not wont to thinke well of every good man.

The Lord Jesus still establish yo^r Peace, and prosper all his worke in yo^r hand, till yo^r chaunge come. Help vs, I pray you, wth yo^r faithfull Requests before y^e Throne of Grace. So I rest The vnworthiest of yo^r poore brethren

JOHN COTTON.

[Addressed] To my Reverend and deare frend M^r. Hildersam Preacher of y^e word at Ashby Dr these wth Speede.¹

JOHN COTTON TO THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN.²

MY HONOURABLE AND VERY GOOD LORD, — As yo^r Lordship hath dealt honourably, and Christianly wth me : so might I iustly be

¹ British Museum, Additional MSS. 4275, fol. 154. This letter was probably written in 1629, and refers to Hildersam's "Lectures upon the Fourth of John," etc., published that year. The Dictionary of National Biography, xxvi., has a good account of Hildersam, but speaks of this volume as edited by J. C., *i. e.* John Carter of Bramford, Suffolk, an error which this letter corrects. A copy of the Lectures is in the Boston Athenæum.

² John Williams, bishop, 1621-1641.

esteemed impiously vngratefull, if I should deale otherwise, then ingenuously, and honestly wth yo^r Lordship. When my cause first came before yo^r Lord^p, yo^r Lord^p wisely and truly discerned, y^t my forbearaunce of y^e Ceremonies was not from wilfull Refusall of Conformity, but from some doubt in my Judgm^t (w^{ch} I confesse is very shallow) and from some scruple in Conscience, w^{ch} is indeede as weake. And therefore vpon mine humble, and instaunt Petition, yo^r Lord^p was pleased in much goodnesse, to graunt me time to consider further of these things for my better satisfaction. Yo^r Lord^{ps} gentlenesse hath not since bred in me any obstinacy in mine owne Opinion : much lesse emboldened me to depart the further from y^e receyved judgm^t and practise of y^e Church in any point. The point of Kneeling in Receyvinge y^e holy Co^mmunion, was noe lesse doubtful to me (if not more) in y^e dayes of yo^r Lord^{ps} Praedecesso^r, then it is now.¹ His Lord^p knoweth, that in Westminster by his Co^mmaundem^t, I propounded my doubts about it before himselfe, and the Reverend and learned Bishop of Sarisbury, y^t now is.² Vnto whom I did so freely open my selfe, out of deepe desire to helpe my selfe by their deeper Judgem^{ts}, y^t my Lord discerninge my simplicity, became (as I conceyved it) y^e more favourable and willinge not onely to beare wth me, but also to give some way to my Restitution, and in the windinge up to leave me in such Estate, as yo^r Lord^p found me. I humbly beseech yo^r L^p thinke not I have so abused yo^r Lord^{ps} Patience, as to harden my selfe by yo^r Lord^{ps} Lenity. Noe, I assure yo^r Lord^p, out of an vneigned Desire, to improve yo^r Lord^{ps} Gentlenesse to mine owne Peace, and the Churches satisfaction, I have thus farre gayned (what by Conference, what by study, what by seekinge vnto God) as of late to see the weaknesse of some of those groundes against kneelinge, w^{ch} before seemed too stronge for me to dissolve. The Experience of y^e faylinge of my Judgem^t in some of these thinges, maketh me the more to suspect it in other Argum^{ts} and groundes of like nature. Besides I shall never forgett, what yo^r Lord^p gravely and wisely once said vnto me, The Ceremonies I doubted of, were "noe where expresly forbidden in Scripture: the Argum^{ts} brought against y^m were but by Consequence deducted from Scripture: deduction of Consequences was a worke of y^e Judgem^t other mens Judgem^{ts} (so many, so learned, so godly) why should I not conceyve, did as infallibly deduce iust Consequences, to allowe these thinges, as mine owne, to doubt of y^m." Alas, alas (my deere Lord) I see by often Experience, the shallownesse of mine owne Judgem^t, especially in comparison of many Centuries of Godly-Learned, who doubt not of the lawfull libe^{ty} of these Ceremonies, especially of this Gesture. Their Consent herein, doth further strongly persuade me, to

¹ George Montaigne, bishop, 1617-1621.

² John Davenant.

suspect the motions of mine owne minde, when I see my selfe in any thinge to dissent from y^e receyved Judgem^t of so many Reverend Fathers, and Brethren in y^e Church, whom I doe not onely highly reverence, but admire. I see, it is co^monly a Palsey-distemper in any member of y^e Body, when it is carryed by a motion different from y^e rule of y^e rest of y^e members. And I iustly suspect y^t spirit, in my selfe, or in another, y^t breatheth a motion different from y^e rest of y^e members of y^e body of Christ, y^e Church of God.

Thus may yo^r Lord^p well perceyve, how little, yo^r Lord^{ps} forbearance of me hath hitherto stiffened me in any private Conceyte. And though it hath bene suggested to yo^r Lord^p (as I heare) y^t it hath emboldened o^r Parish to Inconformity, and induced divers others to come from other Parishes, to Co^mmunicate wth vs in y^e like Liberty: Yet surely yo^r Lord^p hath done honourably and Christianly, and well be-seeminge the æquity of yo^r High and Honourable Co^t, not to give Credit to such a Suggestion, till yo^r Lord^p hath Enquired, and heard o^r Answer. The trueth is, the Ceremonyes of y^e Ringe in Marryage, and standinge at y^e Creede, are vsually performed by my selfe: and all y^e other Ceremonyes of Surplice, Crosse in Baptisme, Kneelinge at y^e Co^mmunion are frequently vsed by my fellow-Minister in o^r Church, and wthout disturbance of y^e People. The People on Sabbaths, and sundry other Festivall dayes, doe very diligently, and thoroughly frequent y^e Publique Prayers of y^e Church, appointed by Authority in y^e Booke of Co^mon Prayer: neyther doe I thinke, y^t any of y^m ordinarily (vnlesse it be vpon iust occasion of other businesse) absenteth himselfe. It is true indeede, y^t in Receyvinge the Co^mmunion, sundry of y^m doe not kneele: but (as I conceyve it, and as they Expresse themselves) It is not out of scruple of Conscience, but from y^e store and multitude of Co^mmunicants, w^{ch} often doe so thronge one another in this great Congregation, that they can hardly stand (much lesse kneele) one by another. Such as doe forbear kneelinge out of any doubt in Conscience, I know not, how very few, they be: I am sure, in Comparison of y^e rest, they be nullius numeri. That divers others come from other Parishes for y^t Purpose, to Receyve wthout Kneelinge, is vtterly vnknown to me, and (I am persuaded) vtterly vntrue. All y^e neighbo^r Parishes, Ministers and People rounde about vs, are wholly Conformable. Once indeede (as I heard) one of y^e Inhabitants of o^r neighbo^r Parish, co^minge to visit his wife (who then nourced a Gentlemans child in o^r Towne) did here Co^mmunicate wth vs. And whether for his not kneelinge, or for some further Cause, I know not, but (as I heard) y^e Co^t beinge Informed of Him, did proceede severely against Him. But otherwise, the man (as I have since bene certefyed) hath alwayes vsed to receyve kneelinge, both before, and since. Yet his Case beinge further bruited abroade, then well knownen, might easily breede such a Suspicion and

afterwards a Report, w^{ch} in time might come to yo^r Lord^{ps} Eares, y^t divers did come from other Parishes to vs, for this purpose, To Receyve Inconformably. But yo^r Lord^p is wise, easily discerning betweene Reports and Evidences.

Let me now therefore humbly intreate yo^r Lord^p, in y^e bowells of Christ Jesus, since yo^r Lord^{ps} Lenity hath hitherto neyther hardened me to my self-conceyted Obstinacy, nor wrought any Præiudice, eyther to yo^r Lord^p, or to y^e Church of God: Yo^r Lord^p will therefore be pleased, To allowe me yet further time, for better Consideration of such doubts, as yet remayne behinde. That if vpon further search, I can finde them too weake to deteyne me, as I have done y^e former, I may then satisfy yo^r Lord^{ps} Desire, and Expectation: If Otherwise, yet I trust yo^r Lord^p shall ever finde me (by y^e helpe of God) a peaceable, and (to my best endeavo^r, accordinge to my weake abilityes) a serviceable member of y^e Church of God.

I dare not præsume, wth more wordes to Presse yo^r Lord^p, whom y^e store and weight of so many important Affayres, presse continually. The Lord of Heaven and Earth give me still to finde favo^r in yo^r Lord^{ps} Eyes: And even He Prosper yo^r Lord^p wth Longe life, and Happynesse, and Favo^r wth God, and man. So humbly cravage Pardon for my great boldnesse, I desire leave to rest Yo^r Lord^{ps} exceedingly much bounden Orato^r

JOHN COTTON.

Boston, Jañ. 31, 1624

[Addressed] To y^e right honourable and Reverend father in God, my very honourable good Lord, Lord Bishop of Lincolne, Lord Keeper of the great Seale. Del. this wth Speede.

[Endorsed] Cotton. 31. Jan. 1624. to Lo: Keep^r. Boston. 1. Wherein himself, his Curat, and his Parish^{ers} conformable. Ob^{ons} answered.¹

JOHN DAVENPORT TO LADY MARY VERE.²

MADAM, — A line or two from yo^r Hon^r would have bene to mee good newes from a farr Countrye. M^r More was a welcom messenger when he gaue mee assurance of your safe arriuall after so dangerous and troublesom a voyadge. He that deliuered you on the sea will preserve you also on the land how safe are you, Madã, that are hid vnder his wings, and held in his hands who is Lord of sea and Land? In nothing be carefull but in all things lett your requests bee mayd

¹ British Museum, Additional MSS. 6394. Boswell Papers, i. fol. 35. Another letter from Cotton to the Bishop of Lincoln, dated May 7, 1633, is printed in the Hutchinson Papers, *249.

² Mary, daughter of Sir William Tracy, of Todington. She married in October, 1607, Horace, Baron Vere of Tilbury, who long served in Holland Clarendon says her religious views were of a Dutch complexion.

knowne vnto God with prayers and supplicacoñs and giving of thancks. Keepe a record of speciall mercyes, they will much strengthen you against future feares. I hope to wayte vpon your Honor in England agayne ere long, if that be true w^{ch} I wrote to my Lord. if not, yet, whilst I liue, I hope to meete you daily, in presenting our offerings and sacrifices at y^e dore of the sanctuary. Be confident of this, that I am ever mindfull of your Honor making mention of you in my secrett prayers night and day. I beseech your La^p that I may still enioy the benefit and assistance of yo^r prayers, w^{ch} I am sure, haue bene accepted, and will still prevayle wth our Alsufficient God thorough the mediaçon of our Lord and Sauour. Good Madã, lett me prevayle wth you to take the encouragm^{ts} w^{ch} God giues you. sett an higher price vpon your prayers. vse and inioy y^t intrest w^{ch} you haue in Gods fauour thorough Christ if earthly men can giue good things to theyre children w^t good thing can yo^r Heavenly father denye you? onely beleiuue stedfastly. aske in fayth and wauer not. you haue an vniust iudge granting y^e request of a strange widdow, a sleepy man satisfying y^e importunate desire of his neighbour though he came vnseasonably. and will not the righteous God, who is faythfull in his promises, grant the petitions of his children, whose prayers are always in season to him who comãdeth them to pray alwayes? Hagar was a bondwoamã cast out of the church, shee prayed not, but wept, shee looked not vp to God but vpon her Ismaell y^t scoffing Ismaell. yet God heard, and helped her. will he not much more regard Sarah who leaues her owne country and fathers house to goe wth Abrahã in obedience to God, when shee seeketh his face by prayer for herselfe and family wherein Gods name is called vpon? Doubtles he will heare when shee prayeth, and before shee speaketh he will answer. Here stay your heart good Madã, and reioyce in y^e Lord: many prayers must be denyed, and refused if you want any thing y^t is good. But, that I may not tyre you wth too much scribbling, for conclusion of these rude lines written in too much hast, lett me intreat yo^r La^p to p^rsent my service to my Lord Horton and his good Lady excusing my not wrighting to them at this tyme by the hast of this bearer M^r Robbert Hyrick¹ w^m I presume to comẽd to yo^r Noblenes beseeching you to remember my Lord of his promise to hasten his præfirm^t. wth whom also I ioyne M^r Humfrey who still wayteth in the citty expecting resoluçon from yo^r Hon. how to dispose of himselfe. If I had but a litle more tyme I would haue written to M^r Balmford,² and M^r Sedgwick,³ to whom I de-

¹ This was the poet Herrick, who was not admitted to the living of Dean Prior, near Ashburton, until 1629.

² Possibly the Puritan divine, who died about 1659, and at the time was pastor of Albons, Wood Street, London.

³ Obadiah Sedgwick (1600?-1658), then chaplain to Baron Vere. See Dictionary of National Biography.

sire to be affectionatly remembred. I rest yo^r Honor^{ble} Ladysh^{ps} much obliged

JOHN DAVENPORT.

Coleman Street Jan. 18. 1627

[Addressed] To y^e truely Noble and Worthy Lady the Lady Vere these be dd in Hague.¹

JOHN DAVENPORT TO LADY MARY VERE.

LOND. June 30, 1628

MADAM,— Since my recouery out of a dangerous sicknes w^{ch} held me from a weeke or fourtnight before Shrouetide to as long after Easter (for w^{ch} I returne most humble and hearty thancks to y^e God of my life the father of mercyes) I haue had diuerse purposes of wrighting to yo^r Honor, onely I delayed, in hope, to wrighte somew^t concerning the event and success of our *High Comission* troubles, but I haue hoped in vayne for, to this day, we are in y^e same condiçon as before, delayed till the finishing of this Sessions in parliam^t w^{ch} now is vnhappyly concluded wthout any satisfying contentm^t to y^e King, or comonwealth. Threatnings were speedily revied against vs by y^e new Bishop of London D^r *Laud* even y^e next day after y^e conclusion of this session; wee expect a fierce storme from the intraged spiritts of y^e 2 Bishops; ours, as I am informed, hath a particular ayme at mee vpon a former quarrail, so y^t I expect ere long to be deprived of my pastorall chardge in Coleman street. But I am in Gods hand, not in theyres, to whose good pleasure I doe contentedly, and chearfully submitt my selfe. if it be his will to haue me layed aside as a broken vessell of no vse, his will be done, and blessed be his name y^t he hath served himselfe of me hitherto; if otherwise he be graciously pleased to continue me in my station and ministry he is able to keepe that w^{ch} I haue comitted to him, and I will wayte vpon his goodnes. however things succeed on earth, if he will not deliuer me out of y^e mouths of the Lyons, yet he will deliuer me from every evill worke, and will preserve me to his heauenly kingdom. In y^e midst of these troubles y^e Lord hath not left me without many comforts, amongst w^{ch} the remembrance of your former fauours, and y^e assurance of y^e present helpe of your prayers (w^{ch} I know, prevayle much wth God, thorough Jesus Christ our Lord) doth exceedingly comfort mee. I reioyced greatly when I heard of your health, Madã, by yo^r Noble and worthy sonne in Law (in whom I account your Honor, and his Lady yo^r virtuous daughter very happy, as in one who, I am persuaded, will farr exceed y^e most of our Nobility in y^e truest worth) but much more did I reioyce in vnderstanding, by some passadges in his discourse, the continuance of your resoluçon to doe God all y^e Service you can in y^t place, wherevnto the good hand

¹ Additional MSS. 4275, fol. 158.

of God, I am confident, hath brought you for some special end. The whole countrye lookes vpon your personall carriage, and vpon y^e ordering of yo^r family, wherein, as Salomon shewed his wisdom to y^e admiration of the Queene of Sheba, so I hope, your Hono^r will so glorifye God, and adorne y^e gospell, y^t we shall all haue iust cause to say, many daughters haue done vertuously but thou excellest them all. if this way, even by well doing you seeke glory and honor, you shall haue it on earth, and afterwards æternall life.

Concerning yo^r remoue from y^e *Hague Dr. Sibbs*¹ and I haue had some conference (who desireth to be remembred in y^e best expressions of sincere loue and service to yo^r Honor) we both agree in this conclusion y^t, except absolute necessity inforce, you should not remoue your dwelling, both in respect of y^e benefitt yo^r family may haue by being members of a congregaçon (besides theyre helpes at home) and in respect of the helpe and encouragm^t the ministry and course of Religion in y^e Hague may haue by your countenance and example. the glory y^t may redound to God, and the good that may accrew to your family by yo^r continuance there will recompence the loss w^{ch} you sustayne in yo^r outward estate, but if this be not sufficient, we desire y^t you would propose the quæstion wth y^r owne opinion and reasons more fully, and we will indeauour to satisfye your La^p by a more full answer. M^r *Sedgwick* wrote to me for a p^acher for Sir *Edw. Vere*, I haue one in readines for him if I may heare an answer of w^t I wrote to M^r Sedgwick, to whom and to M^r Balmford I desire heartily to be remembred. I confes myself indebted to M^r *Balmford* for answer of his two letter[s] which I hope to satisfye ere long. I wrote letters to my Lord and yo^r La^p by M^r Hyrick but never heard what became of them or him. I find a great miss of you, Madam, in the midst of my troubles, but I was not, nor am worthy to enioy such a freind. sometimes, I thinck, I placed too much content in y^e inioym^t of yo^r presence yet agayne I check my selfe fearing least I did not prize you enough, I was not thanckfull enough to you, nor to God for you, the Lord inable me now to pay my debts to my Noble Lord and your good La^p by fervent and frequent prayers for you both I hope ere long to be in Norfolke wth my Lord Horton. my wife doth often make mention of yo^r La^p with most hearty [mutilated] of an high esteem of yo^r worth. I rest your Honor^{ble} La^{ps}

[torn] DAVENP[ORT]

[Addressed] To y^e Right Honor^{ble} and Noble Lady y^e Lady Vere these be dd at the Hague.²

¹ Richard Sibbes, at this time master of St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, a puritan divine and voluminous preacher. In March of this year he had joined with Davenport in a petition in behalf of the distressed protestants in the Palatinate.

² Add'l MSS. 4275, fol. 160.

JOHN DAVENPORT TO LADY MARY VERE.

MADAME, — The report of that greate breach which it hath pleased the Divine providence to make in that family, wherein you are so much interested, did at first somewhat astonish me, but after some recollection of my thoughts it affected me with sorrow and pittie: with sorrow for the publick loss, wherein ye wholl land suffereth by the fall of such a pillar, whose wisdom and publick spirit made him of singular use, not to Norfolke onely, in his prudent managing of the govern^t comitted to him for the good of many, but to the wholl realme, in his strong compliance with ye best affected patriots in parliam^{ts}, for the promoting of any profittable proposalls and motions for the good of ye wholl nation: with pittie and compassion to his good Lady, and the tender branches, whose loss I would rather vaye than expresse, knowing how sensible love maketh us of the want of that comfort which is more deare to us then our eyes, and more usefull to us then our hands, and which we would chuse rather to enjoy, in the want of all outward things then to want in y^e enjoym^t of all things. Nor can I looke aside from your La^p (Madam) whose former wound not fully cured, I feare this occasion causeth to bleed afresh, wherewith I am the more affected, when I remember how fearfull you were, because of ye infection in these parts, least by your coming thither any infection or sicknes by any of yours might be brought into the family; in which respect, the Lord hath dealt mercifully for the helpe of your spirit that this sad accident befell not at your first coming thither, nor till halfe a yeare was past, that your heart might be perfectly freed from that Cause of sorrow. Nor lett your tender apprehension of your owne demerits Cause in you a suspicion that in wrath to yourselfe this sorrow and loss is fallen upon your *daughter* and that Noble family, knowing that our daies are appointed by an æternall decree, and the number of the houres of mans life is to be found onely in that booke where all things were written before they were fashioned. I rather account it a mercy to your Noble daughter that this great affliction fell at such time when your presence might be a comfort and support to her dejected spirit, which also is some help to your selfe, who, I feare, would have bene swallowed up of greife, if the affection of motherly care for your daughter did not somewhat prevayle against your sorrow and mitigate it, by turning the streame of your love (at least in a great measure) into another channell. And indeed, Madam, excess of sorrow will be at this time unseasonable in your La^p whom God hath sent thither and stayed there by a speciall hand of providence for another use, whereunto imoderate greife will dissable you, viz. for the comfort of your daughter, and for the helpe of those litle ones who are your owne, in a great part, as Ruths child was Naomies, give me leave to add that the Lord

hath more plentifully provided for your comfort, Madam, after the death of your husband and sonne in law then for Naomi: for her owne sonne died and her daughter in law lived, but your owne daughter is spared though your sonne in law be taken away. And for Ruths one sonne you have 2 sonnes and 4 daughters added to your Honorable family, and the life of your daughter spared both for theyre good and your comfort, which mercy I will express in the words of y^e Israelitish woemen to Noomi (ouely altering the number) Blessed be the Lord which hath not left thee this day without kinsmen, and theyre name shall be continued in Israel, And this shall bring thy life agayne, and cherish thine old age: for thine owne daughter, w^{ch} loveth thee, hath borne unto him and she is better to thee then seven sonnes. I must now Crave pardon that I putt an end to this wrighting sooner then I purposed being hurried away by unexpected buisenes which forbids my stay any longer the good Lord seale up the discovery of his love in your heart by y^e Holy Ghost to the sanctifying and sweetning of this bitter pill! Amen. Your Honorable La^{ps} in y^e Lord

JOHN DAVENPORT.

[Addressed] To the Right Honor^{ble} the Lady Mary Vere present these.¹

JOHN DAVENPORT TO LADY MARY VERE.

MAD^ã, — The importunity of this bearer to carry, at y^e least, an acknowledgm^t of the receite of y^e token, w^{ch} it pleased your Hon. to send to my wife, together wth my owne desire of expressing our thanckfulnes for that, and many other favours receiued from you, emboldeneth mee to this rude and breife expression of my selfe, in so few lines, being by present vrgencye of buisenes, and some streights of tyme, this Saturday night, denyed liberty of enlarging my selfe. That ancient candor and noblenes of disposition, which you haue alwayes exercised towards me, in making a good construction of my errorrs, as it hath formerly imprinted in mee an high esteeme of your worth, and good opinion of me, so at this tyme, it giues me assurance that this rudenes will be pardoned, and my desire of presenting most humble and hearty thancks to your Hon. will be accepted. I hoped, ere this tyme, to haue obtayned my long desire of seeing my Lord, and your La^p wth yours in England. The Lord preserve you in the way and make your returne prosperous! This day I receiued a letter from your Noble sonne, my *Lord Haughton*,² w^{ch} should haue bene here, I thinck,

¹ Add^d MSS. 4275, fol. 162. This letter probably refers to the death in his minority of Sir Roger Townshend, of Norfolk. Mary, the second daughter of Baron Vere, married the father, Sir Roger Townshend, of Raynham, Norfolk, whence are descended the Marquises of Townshend.

² John Holles, second Earl of Clare, who was known after 1624 as Lord Haughton. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Lady Vere.

a moneth sooner, to whom I desire to be excused y^t I wrighte not an answer, for want of tyme. I hope shortly to giue an answer to himsele not in wrighting, but in speach, at your returne to England, w^{ch} I wish may be hastened wth all convenient speed. In y^e meane space, I present my humble service to his Lordsh^p, and to his worthy Lady. By M^r *Sedgwick*, I receiued a letter from M^r *Balmford*, whom I loue unfeignedly, for y^e graces that shine in him. if he resolute to settle at y^e Hague, I beseech y^e father of spirits to encourage his spirit to that greate worke, and to furnish him with wisdom, and vtterance, and zeale in abundance, and to goe foorth with him, in his ministeriall labours, in much power and efficacy. I cañot wrighte to him now, but I acknowledge my selfe his debtour. Now the good Lord shew mercy to my Noble Lord, your Honor^{ble} La^p and to your whole family, in ordering your consultaçons and resoluçons to his owne glory in your wellfare, and in filling your hearts with all needful graces, and comforts, and in protecting your persons, and preserving you in health and safety, there, and in your voyage, and in fulfilling all your necessities! I rest, in much hast, craving pardon for this blurred scribbling, your Honor^{ble} Ladish^{ps} much obliged in y^e Lord,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

Decemb. 26, 1629.

I will not fayle to sollicite Sir Maurice Abbott¹ in your buisenes concerning Hales.²

[Addressed] To y^e Right Honor^{ble} and truly Noble Lady, the Lady Vere, these be dd at the Hague.³

JOHN DAVENPORT TO LADY MARY VERE.

MOST NOBLE AND VERY MUCH HONOURED LADY,— In y^e midst of my disquietments and tossings to and fro, it is some comfort, y^t I haue assurance of the continuance of your fauo^r towards mee, and of your remembrance of mee in prayer: I know, that loue which you haue bene pleased so freely to cast vpon mee will quicken you to all diligence and industry in any way and course that may conduce to y^e procuring of my liberty, but hitherto it hath pleased God to leaue me in much darkenes, and many difficulties, to vnbottom mee wholly of y^e creature, and to reueale himselfe more clearly and fully in all issues, and euent^s y^t

¹ A prominent merchant of London, and at this time governor of the East India Company, a position that gave him close connection with Dutch commercial questions.

² Probably John Hales, "the ever memorable," who had served in Holland in 1616 as chaplain to the ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton.

³ Add'l MSS. 4275, fol. 164.

befall mee Be not troubled, much less discouraged (Good Madā) at any rumors you meet with concerning my present way. The persecucion of y^e Tongue is more fierce and terrible then y^t of the hand at this time, I haue sense of both. But I can say it is for thy names sake o Lord, that I beare this reproach. But y^e iniurious surmises of those, by whom I should be comforted and supported, many that profess religion in an higher strayne then some others, doeth much afflict mee. I pray God it be not layed to theyre charge! The trueth is, I haue not forsaken my ministry, nor resigned vp my place, much less seperated from y^e Church, but am onely absent awhile to wayte vpon God, vpon y^e settling and quieting of things, for light to discerne my way, being willing to lye and dye in prison, if y^e cause may be aduantaged by it, but choosing rather to preserve y^e liberty of my person and ministry for y^e Seruice of y^e church elsewhere, if all dores are shutt against mee here. what I now doe and suffer is not caused by any guilt of any practise or action done or intended by me, which may expose me to any iust censure of Authority, much less by a desire of ease (as some giue out) hauing gotten a greate estate; least of all by reseruing to my owne priuate benefitt any thing comitted to my trust for the publick good. my estate, though I am not in any present want, is not able to maintaine mee without a calling in y^e buisenes of y^e feoffees¹ I haue giuen vp my account vpon oath, and the Lord God who searcheth y^e hearts knoweth y^t I am so farr from gaining by y^t buisenes in my outward estate, that I am out of purse, in myne owne particulars for the aduancement of it. The onely cause of all my present sufferings is, the alteraçon of my iudgm^t in matters of conformity to y^e ceremonies established whereby I cannot practise them as formerly I haue done wherein I doe not censure those y^t doe conform (nay I account many of them faithfull, and worthy instrum^{ts} of Gods glory, and I know that I did conforme with as much inward peace, as now I doe forbear, in both my vprightnes was the same, but my light different) In this action I walk by y^t light which shineth vnto mee. lett no man say the matters are small and what need I be scrupulous in these things? That which y^e Ap^{le} speaketh of Rom. 14 was but a small matter, yet you see how heauy a doome he passeth vpon him y^t doeth it doubting of y^e lawfullnes of it. v 14. 22. 23. I haue bene taught by my Lord and Sauior to account no com^t of God small, and to despise a mans way, that is, to thinck this is too despicable and slight a thing to be stood vpon, you know whan an euill it is. pro. 19. 16. But these things are not small, neither in themselues, nor in the consequences of them. But I haue not time to be large: onely thus much I thought

¹ An account of the plan to establish a fund for the ministry, and of Laud's move against the Feoffees, is in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, Book iii, ch. iv. Hugh-Peter was also concerned in this plan.

good to present to your Hono^r in way of account for the present, hoping that God will giue mee an opportunity to make a more large and full Apology, for y^e satisfaction of all men. They that know mee, might haue suspended theyre opinions, and censures till they had heard from my selfe, y^e reasons of my actions. with much aduise of many ministers of eminent noate, and worth I haue done all which I haue done hitherto, and with desire of pitching vpon y^t way wherein God might be most glorified. In his due time, he will manifest it. M^r *Harris* I know fully and I doe heartily loue. He is a very worthy man of a very gracious hearte, humble, mild, and gentle Spirit. a man not at all taken notice of by y^e Bishops. he is weake and sickly, but you need not be discouraged by y^t for it is a lingering weakenes wherein he may hold out long, but his spirit is very active in good, he is very fitt for your occasions in all respects. you shall be very happy in him if you can haue him. he is one of a thousand. It is not in y^e Bishops power to take from you what is settled vpon y^e Nobility and others by magna charta, the right and power of intertaining chaplaines. feare it not. The good Lord strengthen your inward mā with y^e ioyes of his spirit! Your Honorable Ladships much obliged

JOHN DAVENPORT.

MAD^A—I pray send by this bearer 2 or 3 sheetes of gilded paper. I am now about to write to my Lord Keeper.

[About 1633.]

[Addressed] To y^e Right Honorable the Lady Vere, these be dd.¹

In October, 1632, information was laid before Sir Francis Windebank, Secretary of State, against the English churches in the Low Countries. The preachers of the Merchant Adventurers at Delft were the chief persons complained of, for they were said to observe no forms of prayers, nor any solemnities, to administer the sacrament without form, and plant churches and ordain ministers at pleasure. The home government wrote letters to the Adventurers instructing them to select conformable preachers, and threatened to call in the Company's charter in default of reformation. Seventeen members of the Adventurers, residing at Delft, united in a declaration, saying that they learned they were traduced in England as schismatics, but were ready to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance whenever required, and to conform themselves to all the laws of England when they should come

¹ Add'l MSS. 4275, fol. 166. Davenport resigned his English charge and went to Holland late in 1633.

to live therein. They asserted that they had conformed to the government established in the churches of the United Provinces "by the joint authority of our State as well as of this State," under which they lived as their predecessors had lived. Sir William Boswell, recently appointed Ambassador to the Hague, described the church government among these Merchant Adventurers to be

entirely Presbyterian, and that the company fell into that fashion at the first grant of free exercise of religion. Mr. Davison, Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador, was an elder of their church, as Mr. E. Gilpin, then Secretary of the Company, was afterwards. In Divine Service they neither officiate "according to their mother English," nor keep the canons of the Reformed Belgic churches. They have never had any regular constitutions. The deputy, Mr. Misselden, and Mr. [John] Forbes, the present minister, are irreconcilably at variance, the Deputy challenging them for want of Liturgy, Catechism, Confession, set forms of Prayer for Marriage, or for celebration of the Sacrament, exercise of the Lord's Prayer, and solemn Thanksgiving and Anniversaries for the Birth and Death of our Saviour, "things, if true, of most insufferable nature, and most dangerous consequence."¹

Goffe wrote to Misselden of a discovery that might help him in his prosecution of the Church's cause :

Mr. Paget complains exceedingly of Misselden's troublesome minister [Forbes], that he is a man of most usurping and imperious disposition, labouring for nothing so much as his own pre-eminence. Paget has procured acts from the Dutch churches that in their opinion the English Church ought not to have a classis, the reason being that they who sue for it have schismatical self opinions. Paget having examined Mr. Hooker on interrogatories, the latter has shown that he thinks no church as yet knows Christ's mind, but he knows it alone. Our Puritans have little cause to complain of the proceedings of our Church, since they are creatures that can live no where. Forbes, having complained of the ministers and classis of Amsterdam for their censure of Hooker, has been rebuked by Jacobus Laurentius, then president, for his meddling, with this expression, that though he complain against the bishops of England, yet himself hath more than an episcopal spirit.²

¹ Boswell to Council, March 18, 1633. State Papers, Domestic, 1631-1633, 475.

² Goffe to Misselden, April 26, 1633.

At this stage the King himself intervened, for he wrote sharp instructions to the Company of Merchant Adventurers, based upon what Boswell had written and Laud wished :

His Majesty has been advertised by his agent with the States General that there are divers of the ministry in those parts, the King's natural born subjects, very ill affected to the government of the Church of England, and that they have opposed those who stand for the decent form of divine service used in that Church, by which and by betaking themselves to fancies, they disparage the King's government, and bring contempt upon themselves among foreign nations, whereas the King's intention never was that any company residing in foreign parts should exempt themselves from the government of this Church or State. The King therefore wills the company not to entertain any minister departed from this country or censured here for nonconformity, but only such as are conformable. Edward Misselden, then deputy governor at Delft, who has been affronted in his government by some of the company, incensed by those refractory preachers, for his endeavour to reduce them to the government of the Church of England, is in danger by their practices to be removed from his place, which the King will by no means endure. The King expects they will give him all encouragement in the present and future elections, and that the London Company will cause a copy of this letter to be sent to those of the company in foreign parts.¹

Misselden himself came to London, to kiss hands, and submitted some thoughts on the Adventurers' position, by which he hoped to make them more amenable to the King. He wished a conformable minister to be sent out with him, to settle the company in conformity to the Church of England; the Book of Common Prayer to be sent out and used; and that the chief government of the company be reduced to London, which would cause them of necessity to renew their charter, and might draw from them a convenient homage to the king.²

At this time Stephen Goffe appears as an element of trouble, having read the prayers of the Church of England to a regiment in the Netherlands by orders of Lord Horace Vere. He stated that great contentment was given by the reading, but he half contradicts himself by describing the result. It was true only one officer left the church, but the State was

¹ Dated, Westminster, May 29, 1633.

² Misselden to Secretary Windebank, July 24, 1633.

made acquainted with the new order "as if some new and superstitious thing had been introduced," and he was complained of as an "innovater and troubler of the church," his stipend of £30 a year was cut off for a time, and factious English and Scottish ministers admonished him to desist. Goffe rather enjoyed the approach to martyrdom, and wrote to Henry, Earl of Dover, that he would continue to read prayers whether the £30 were paid or not, being of opinion that so good a work must not be forsaken for the hazard of that sum. One of Goffe's opponents, Colonel Hollis, was admonished to desist, "as he tenders the King's favour." And the reprover, no less a person than Sir John Coke, acting under the King's immediate order, continued :

It is no small dishonour to his Majesty's government, and also to our church and religion, that in a country where way is given to all sorts of religions, even to our factious and scandalous separatists, we should make difficulty in using that liturgy which is not only prescribed to all good subjects, but is also most agreeable to that which was used in the primitive and best times of the church, and which the most learned and religious much prefer before those naked and indigested forms, wherein the people have no part.

STEPHEN GOFFE TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

SIR,—I had provided to have sent you the summe of M^r Pryetts relaçons concerning the English classis from Emmerick but that we were suddainly carried from thence to Santomsbeacke a place betwixt Rees and Weazell. But are not likely to land there because of the great overflowing of the Waters insomuch that M^r Witte told my Ld that the Prince he thought when he saw it would returne backe to Nimmengen and so the army should march to Rhineberke. But my Ld not knowing yet w^t wilbe the issue (the prince not being come to that place on Wensday night) is come to Weazell [Wesel] where he will stay till the army is somewhere settled: And here such things as I meet with I cannot but informe you of. The minister to the English (as I said in my note) is a German who speakes English having lived in Oxofñ above a yeare and els where in England 2 yeares more. And he is a very good Scholler, but a yonge man, yet one that is a very thankfull man to England; for both in his life, and learning he is more English then Dutch. I see he hath taken a degree in Leyden: and his theses I have sent vnto you; first for a story I shall tell you, and then because they be dedicated to the Bp of Lincolne. His 80 thesis was much misliked by o^r puritanes. gō M^r Goodyer

opposed him publickly in the Scholes; because he tolerated o^r Liturgy, and would prove that o^r Liturgy was not to be endured; (because it commands the reading of Lies that is the Apocrypha.) And by that thesis he gott the ill will of all that tribe. M^r Cotton of Bostone sent him a lett^r about it blaming his meddling. and D^r Ames¹ anothe^r the Copy of w^{ch} I have sent you, word for word as it is. (But saith o^r defendnt the professors showed themselves then feirce maintainers of o^r bookes.) You may see D^r Ames his good nature that he likes not any man hartily that is acquainted with a Bp. Now Sir I thought it fitt to propose this vnto you because I know not how it is possible to gett a fitt^r man to go through with that busines we have in hand: if by you he were p^sented and placd in Coll Morgans place.² for he is a man throughly settled in his judgement for o^r church in all things. And hath great frends amongst the states insomuch that there wilbe no doubt of his getting the 200 gilders an: w^{ch} M^r Batche^r hopes to retaine. (Hassolt [or Haffolt] Paw: Capell are his frends) and Treasurer Goch by the recomendaõ of my Leifte: Coll. Hollis wrote for him to come to Mastricht to be pastor to the Dutch there. yõ he must not except against him. Here he is professor of Philosophie in the Schola illust: of Weasell. for w^{ch} he hath a house and some allowance from the towne, and his fath^r is a wealthy man neare Munster (w^{ch} I write because if he be p^rferred to Coll Morgan it wilbe inconvenient for him to be quite removed from this towne) Now I conceive his Ma^{tie} would like of this because he hath defended o^r Liturgie, when he had no relaoⁿ to o^r church: and the Bp of Lincoln would looke vpon it as thing done in reference to him too. These are but my private thoughts yet such as I know I may trust with you; els I know Peters³ and that accusing tribe would be glad to me meddling about this. Now if you please to write w^t you conceive of this, y^r le^re may be sup^scribed to me, but to be left with Leiftenant Smith Leiftenant of an English Company at his house in Weasell. The Ministers name is M^r Gwin. and if you please to speake with him he would be ready to come to the Hage, and could tell you many storries of the proceeding of o^r Classists, and you might lay w^t lawes vpon him you would y^r selfe. He is all a Schooleman; there is his Master learning, and well studied in the History of the Popes, and hath a booke now in the presse to prove that there was a Pope Jone, a work of more labor

¹ William Ames, who had married the daughter of Dr. Burgess, chaplain to Sir Horace Vere, and had himself served in that capacity. He was now occupying the chair of theology at Franeker, and died in this year.

² Sir Charles Morgan.

³ Hugh Peter went to Holland about 1629, and was at this time minister of the English church at Rotterdam, and closely associated with Dr. Ames. The "Articles and Covenant" printed on page 223 brought against him such complaints and disputes that he decided to remove to New England.

than fruit: yet he will shew that he hath read bookes. Whatever you please to command me Let it come that way by Leiftenant Smith. My Ld Vere hath never beene bett' body nor mind in a journey then this, and is fully now sett against o' humorists. I desire my humble service be p'sented to M^{is} Boswell, and so I rest Your very thankfull and harty servant

STEPHEN GOFF.

WEASELL, Thursday assension May 5th s^t no. [1633].

My Lord this day commanded me to write to you, to p'sent his service and to tell you that if he knew any thing worth your knowing he would not faile to send it: but as things are he bids me sett downe, which is nothing but as before that the great waters have beene a great hindrance to the Prince that the shipping are not all come vp to Santomsbeake till this night, that two bridges are made for the Landing of the men w^{ch} wilbe to morrow, that there have beene horse and foot sent about the quarters about Rhineberck, and that therefore in all probability that is the place we shall sitt before. That the speach is Count Willm is comming downewards. The Princes are well quartered in Santom; and as yet the Prince of Orange and they eat togethe'.

This 7th of May Saterdag night.

I have mett with an admirable Story here. By the helpe of the Dutch P'ach's of the towne the very same controversy that I have had about o' Pray's. o' Countrymen who fled hith' in Queene Maries daies had with the Inhabitants here. and I have gott out of their towne Archiva, two Supplicãons in Lattin o' countrimen made for their owne rites and pray's.

A copy of o' communion p'sented by them to the Magistrates.

A lefe of Melanchtons in their behalfe. vpon which they had full Leave granted them to vse their owne rites and pray's; and had a church allowed them. the lefe I read in Melanchtons handwriting.

These things I have caused to be copied out. I see this lefe of Melanchton is printed by Pezelius in Melanchtons Consilia theologica. but it is mangled and not compleat nor like the autograph, as I have noted wherein [*worn away*].

[Addressed] To the right Worp^{ll} my worthy frend Mr. William Boswell. Agent for his Ma^{tie} of Great Brittain. at Hage.

[Endorsed] Goffe: 5 May, 1633. *Wesell*. English Classis Litourgie, &c. Engl. service in Wesel. Mr. Hooker.¹

¹ Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 134. The mention of Hooker's name is not easily explained. He was then in Holland, associated with Dr. Ames, and, Mather says, assisted him in composing some of the "Fresh Suit against human Ceremonies," which was passing through the press when Ames died. Davenport, in his letter of March 18, 1634, *post*, says the book was printed before the author's death.

STEPHEN GOFFE TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

SIR, — I give you hartly thanks for y^r serious and Loving encouragement, w^{ch} togeth^r with your directjons in this my pilgrimage will make me a happy man. I hope you have receaved a third letter from me, w^{ch} gave you account of the first Sundaies worke. Before the next M^r Schlaer came who is a conformable man in w^t he doth but I have grounds to thinke not in his hart: for by his owne relatjion when he was at the Hage he went vp and downe from State to State to see if he could be forbidden to obey the King. But they (one as I remember Gandt) telling him that they did not Lay any inhibition, but referred it all to the Prince of Orange, whose mind he said it was that it was best men should practice according to the churches to w^{ch} they belong, Hee is contented to do it. He told me furth^r that the Councell of State had putt in their judgements against it, in many sheets of paper; To w^{ch} the General States have not yet answered, and as he gath^{rs} frō them, are not likely to do. M^r Day is now come amongst vs too, so that all is right, but that Coff Morgan is of no religion neith^r for p^raching nor praying. The feild businesses are related to you by bett^r hands. There is newes come that the Governour of Rhineberke is seized vpon by 6 troops of horse of the Enimies, and carried into Gelders as a Prisoner, they fearing els that he would gett away to Culleine whith^r he hath sent his goods by shipping before him. Coff Feruns this day is sent by the prince to the Landgrave of Hesse, and it is discoursed that we shall have a great supply of horse frō him, w^{ch} togeth^r with the command for the suddaine recruiting of y^e companies out of England and France makes vs expect a great deale of worke this summ^r. It is written vnto me frō England that M^r Cotton of Boston hath convinced M^r Dampport [Davenport] and M^r Nye,¹ two of the great p^rachers of the citty that kneeling at the sacrament &c. is plaine Idolatry, and y^t for that reason M^r Dampport hath absented himselfe every sacrament day w^{ch} is once a month since Christmas, and M^r Cotton is going for New England: Here is a blessed vacation that o^r visitant Peters comes not his circuit this League as he was wont: my old adversary is semp^r idem never comming to the worship of God till praying is done. The Polish Embassadour makes men talke here of a Queene of Poland: Prince Charles is growne a very curious antiquary with such furniture, as the old Romane camps have afforded Him. I desire my humble service may be p^rsented to M^{rs} Boswell who if shee would follow the example of a multitude may wel

¹ Philip Nye, who was in Holland from 1633 to 1640. He believed that at sermons the preacher should wear his hat, but the congregation be uncovered; but at sacraments the preacher should be bareheaded and the communicants covered.

venture to see the army, for here are almost all the wives that belong vnto it, and more too. And so I rest your humblest servant

STEPHEN GOFFE.

June 7th St: no:

I beseech you to do me the favour to tell D^r Higgs,¹ if here were any thing that I could bett^r informe in, then he is at Court, I would not faile to write. I am his servant.

[Addressed] To the right Worpth M^r William Boswell: Agent for His Matie of great Brittain^e at the Hage, This.

[Endorsed] Goffe. 7 Jun. 1633. Army. Rhyndergh. Lre. 14 Jun. 1633.²

ALEXANDER BROWNE TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

ROTTERDĀ the 17th of August, 1633.

SIR, — my last was to you the 15 of this: senc w^{ch} tyme I hapned one this booke: if you have not seene it before: there is A 100 or 200 bownde at this towne to sell to the good santes w^{ch} are in England and m^r Puckell A Catterpillar to his Cuntrie as I may say haith the saill of them: but it is not the mans faulte so much as vp howlders: his Chefest vp hould^r is m^r Peter that is the truth and he is one that standes much for the good of his Cuntrie: the bak waj and one that Resspeckteth you Ho^r: much for to this bearrer: he saide: that you sent one for him to talke wth him Concerninge m^r Bachelor and w^{ch} all fell vpon him wth sum descorse touchinge him selfe: but truly saide he: I slighted his speches see sir this pore condiċned man whoe in A mañer slightes his Kinge, Kingdom and the Imbassadors: of his K but what should one say to such refracktories but it is a great shame theay should be suffered but I hop it will in tyme be all mended: and thus in hast I take my leave and Rest yo^r Hon^r to doe you any service

ALEX BROWNE

[Addressed] To the Hon^r Sir William Boswell knight and Imbassad^r for his maiestie of great Brittain^e.

[Endorsed] Browne 17th Aug: 1633. dam. 1 fresh suit ag^t Ceremonies. 2. Puckel blasoned. 3. Peters backbiter of me &c.³

ALEXANDER BROWNE TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

ROTTERDAM the first of Nouem^r 1633

HONNARD, — Sence my laste beinge wth you I have littell or noe news to Informe you of only m^r Peter reported to sum of his peopell

¹ Griffin, or Griffith, Higgs, who served as chaplain to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, from 1627 to 1639.

² Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 144; ³ 150.

that he was to preach his far well sermond at delft the last sunday : and to leaue it A dessolaite plaice wheer their was wepinge Amongst his female saintes to heir of the sad stories he related vnto them heir at Rotterdam before he departed : for nowe in steed of preacheinge we should haue A littell seruice Staruice read wth many other skandolous wordes he eussed vpon the Common prayer : Doc^r Amis his prefaice to the fresh supplie is printed and I am promissed one of them but I shall noe sowner receaue it but I will send it forwarde to your Honnor : I have heir sent you m^r Peters Couenant w^{ch} he maide and vnless wee will all subscribe to this his Couenant wee shall not be admitted to the lords Table neither ould members nor newe : so that it seemes to me our Church formerly was noe Church : but what authorite he haith to doe those thinges : I knowe not : for he him self saith the Church of England doth Tije the Concienc of men to do this and that, and he for his parte in this his Couenant Tieth both Concienc and purs. Sir I ffear I am to tedious to you vp such A subieckt but I will Ceass at pressent Committinge you to the Allmightes prtexcioñ and euer Restinge youers and not his owne to Comand.

ALEX BROWNE.

[Addressed] To the honorable Sr Williame Bosswell : ressidnt for his Maies tie of great Brittane at the Haige.

[Endorsed] Browne. Nou. 1633. Rtrdam.¹

ARTICLES AND COVENANT.

The 15 Artikells and Couenant of m^r Hugh Peter of Rott^r.

1. To Be Contented wth meit triall for our fitnes to be members.
2. To Cleaue in hart to the truth and pure worship of God and to oppose all wayes of Innouation and Corupcion.
3. To suffer the word to be the guide of all Controuersies.
4. To Labor for growth of knowledge : and to that end to Confer, pray, heare, and meditate.
5. To Submitte to brotherly admonission and Censuere wth out enuie or anger.
6. To be throughly reconciled one to another euen in Judgment before wee begin this work.
7. To Walk in all kind of exactnes both in regard of our selues, and others.
8. To for bear Clogging our selues and harts wth earthly Cares w^{ch} is the bayn of religion.
9. To Labor to gitt A great meassure of humillitie and meeknes and to bannish pride and highnes of spirit.

¹ Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 153.

10. To Med[i]tate the furthering of the gossPELL at home and A braod as well in our perssons as wth our purses.

11. To Take nearly to hart our bretherens Condition and to Conforme our selues to these troublesome tymes both in our dyett and apparel that they may be wth out excesse in nessesitie.

12. To Deall wth all kynd of wissdome and gentellnes towards those that are wth out.

13. To Studie vnitie and brotherly loue.

14 To Put one and other in mynde of this *Couenant* and as occassion is offered to take an Acompte of what is done in the premisses.

15 And for the furthering of the Kingdome of Crist : Dilligently to instruct Children and seruants: yea and to look to our wayes and accompts Dayley :

Finis.

[Endorsed] Articles or Couenant offred by Mr Hu: Peters Minister, to the English Congregacon at Rh~rdam, to his Congreg^{on} before admission into it, or to the Lords supper to be subscribed &c 1633.¹

ALEXANDER BROWNE TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

ROTTERDAM the 13 of Decembr [1633].

SIR, — thoughe I have benn sum what longe: in aduissinge of you: of the lettere w^{ch} youer: honner deleuered vnto [me] to be dell vnto Cussinge Harris: I hope you will not take it vnkindly nether think it any neglecht in me: but raither looke vpon the weither: one sunday last I deleiuered it vnto him: and vp Munday he sett saille from henc wth one Antonij Jacobes for London:

I have Inquiered whether m^r Peters is A burgar or not: and as I am informed doucttingly he was maide A Burger wth in this: 6 weekes: I shall God willinge Informe yo^r honner more Certainly both of this: and other matters or it be longe and thus dessiereinge yo^r Hon^r to houlde me Excussed: Giueinge yo^r honer many [*word omitted*] for my kiend Intertainment I Rest youer Honners Humbell seruant wheer in I may do you service.

ALEX BROWNE.

Sir I am in sum haist I dessier your Honner woulde beair wth my stogriffee [orthography] and ill writting.

[Addressed] To the Honbel Sr William Bosswell Imbassador for his maiestie of great Brittane def in de Haige.

[Endorsed] Browne. 13. dec: 1633. Rhrdam.²

¹ Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 161; ² 158.

STEPHEN GOFFE TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

WORTHY SIR,— Having 2 houres liberty before my Colonel came last night, I visited M^r Dampont, who intends a journey to y^r selfe on Monday for an occasion w^{ch} I thought my duty first to acquaint you with. He complaines that my Lds Grace of Canterbury this tearme very lately (as it is written vnto him frō his frends in Ldon) in the high commission court tooke occasion to speake of him, and to blame him with some sharpenes for his p^rachings and discourses since he came into these pts. That he should inveigh most violently against the policy of the church of England. w^{ch} M^r Davenport doth deny that ever he did, but confesseth that Vossius his sonne¹ was at a sermon of his wherein he defended the gesture of sitting at the Sacramēt impugning that of Kneeling as vnlawfull; not meddling with o^r church (as he saith) but the gesture. And he thinks that Vossius in lēres to my Lds Grace of Cantab. hath informed against him for w^{ch} he speakes more sharply against him, then it is probable he hath beene spoken against by any oth^rs. And not only he hath taken the Cry against Him, but the whole knott of that sect in the towne do most bitterly teare the name of Vossius. His errandt to you wilbe to justifie himselfe and declaime against his accuser, and to begg of you to be his *sponsor for more wisdome, and a bett^r temper*. Besides Vossius he hath anoth^r greivance frō M^r Pagett;² with whō his dispute increases; not only about the matt^r of baptisme, but about the authority of a Classis (and as they adde oth^r things) so that he said himselfe vnto me that he thought he should not fixe here. But Ofwood said they hoped to have him Lecturer here, if not Copastor with M^r Paget.³ I have not yet had time to visite Vossius &c, but hastned this away, that you might know the true cause of His comming, w^ever he shall p^rtend, when he sees you. I see distresse and necessity will teach men good manners. And so I rest. Your most bounden Servant

STEPHEN GOFFE.

AMSTERDAM. Saturday morning: Feb. 22 1634

My Colonel wil not stay here long^r than Monday.

[Addressed] To the right Worp^{ll} my worthy frend S^r William Boswell Knight, Resident for his Ma^{tie} of great Brittain. this.⁴

¹ A very full account of the scholar Isaac Vossius is in the Dictionary of National Biography. If he is intended by the text, he was more than precocious to have complained of Davenport's preaching, as he was now in his fifteenth year. The letters must have been written by the father, Gerard John Vos, then occupying the chair of history in the University of Amsterdam.

² John Paget.

³ Davenport's differences with Paget and the Dutch classis, which led to his desisting from public preaching, are mentioned in Mather's *Magnalia*, Book iii, ch. iv.

⁴ Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 188.

JOHN WEBSTER TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL S^R — this bearrer m^r John Dauenpoortt a worthe[y] deuine is the man thatt the *English churche* in *this city* maek choije off *to be minnester to the congregation and to thatt end the magis-traetts of this cittij and y^e Cla* [torn] *have consented and aproued of him.* and itt seems thatt hee is credibly informed thatt som euill wille [torn] his, yea I maij saij euill willer to him and to y^e *English church* in this cittij haue informed the reuerend lord the Archbishop of Canterbury, thatt he in his sermons hier hath preached *agajnst the gouernment of our kingdom*, and therfoer he taketh his Jurneij to the haghe to maek his *appoligie to your self* and to signifij how he is wronged in thatt repoortt, and yff fals repoortt should taek place nott only he butt our whoell congregation should suffer.

So this is to intreatt you worship fauorably too admitt him to speack in your presens for himself and to giue me so much credit as to belieue thatt nott anÿ man hier is known that did euer hear him onc to enter *into any treaty of the gouernment of our kingdom.* Myself haue heard moest of the sermons that euer hee did preach hier and I saij seriously I did neuer hear him onc to moue anij such matter butt *allwaijs att begining or ending of euerij sermon doth pray for our kinge and counsell* I say in all the sermons thatt euer I heard him preach I neuer heard him onc to meddell in any *matter of staett nor can I learn* that euer anij man hier heard him onc to touch vpon thatt poiñt. Your letter of 20 currantt I haue and in itt the cobby of the staetts obligation for s 8000 for which I rest thanckfull. and itt may be I may to morrow taeke my Jurny towards the haghe to proffer you my seruic befoer your departuer. but howsoeuer I wish you a prosperus voyage to your content so I taeke leaue. Yours in all seruic

JOHN WEBSTER.

AMSTERDAM the 27 february 1634.

[Addressed] To the right worshipfvll S^r William Boswell Knight Agent for his magesty of Great Brittanie, m. Sgrauenhagh by a worthey frend whom God conduckt in saeftij.

[Endorsed] Webster. 27 Febr. 1634. Dauenport. Am'dam.¹

STEPHEN GOFFE TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

WORTHY SIR, — Since the receiving of y^s March 6, frō Brill, for w^{ch} I give you many thanks, M^r Paget hath sent his kinsman to me to relate what was done in the Classis last weeke. The ordinary busines being dispatched in their mondayes meeting they resolved of purpose to come togeth^r the next day to heare M^r Dampports matt^r. On

¹ Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 190.

one side M^r Paget declared that aft^r the consent of the magistrates and by ord^r frō the classis he with the Eld^rs had offered M^r D his Call in writing. but that He refused it his conscience not suffering him to vnd^r-take those conditions w^{ch} yet were thought necessary by 5 of themselves, and were in appearance accepted by him selfe. On the oth^r side were two of the Eld^rs of the Church deputed and instructed by M^r Dampport; who indeed confessed the refusall, and the tedⁿes of his Conscience, but in the name of the *most* and *chiefest* of the congregation desired the Classis that they might have him established amongst them, not Pastor but Assistant in preaching, alleading the excellency of his *guifts*, and his *discreet* and *peaceable* carriage. Vpon the notice of his refusall some of the Dutch ministers who (by the Merchants M^r D. frends) were brought to be sticklers for him professed themselves much wronged, that M^r D had putt them vpon the displeasure of the magistrates. For that the Magistrates did alledge, as his deserting England, so his differing frō the Belgicke constitutions w^{ch} they had answered vnto them, and warranted vpon their creditts that he would be a fitt and conformable man. But now in his plaine flijing off and that for such easy condicions, he did lay them open to shame to the magistrates, who were difficulte before, but now would be possessed; that many oth^r differences were hidd in his brest besides these. To that matt^r of being Lecturer or assistant in preaching only, that was a Species of creatures w^{ch} was not in their church. Besids that therein they should exceedingly wrong M^r Pag whose age required a College in all the burthens of the church, w^{ch} were as many and more heavy in the businesses of the Consistory for government, and in administring the sacram^{ts}, then in the pulpitt for preaching. And that vnlesse he were Legittimate Pastor he could have no place in the Consistory &c. In fine There Conclusion was that 3 Dutch Ministers should be deputed to go vnto him in the name of the Classis to exp^sse the just cause they have to be offended at his refusalls, they having through so many objections made his way for him. And to take his reasons why he will not accept of those condicions concerning baptisme. And that next classis these 3 must report w^t his reasons be that so they may sett a finall conclusion to this matt^r. The men designed are La Maire, and Laurentius two of y^e Amsterdammers who take themselves most wronged by this vnexpected refusall, and one Rulandus a minist^r of a dorp by: a very good Scholler, and one that can speake English if necessity require it. The man is vnfortunate (if he do not deserve it) for the causes they give of his frequent absence, and this p^resent jorney, but however their commission is to waite him at his first footing Amsterdam againe, w^{ch} is not yet. For yet he is with his Oracle at Delphos to expound and vntyte what comes vnto him frō East and West. Perhaps he chose rath^r to send then bring his relāon vnto y^r selfe, because Brill was once belonging to the

king of England; or vpon a point of widdows¹ his wisdome he was not sure he should have Leave to come backe againe. I hope Vossius will heare the story of this Classis, that so the Magistrates may be fully informed of w^t hath passed, and see how just there feares and exceptions were. But I cannot thinke (nor can my relator) that the ministers intend to pswade him to come on, but rath^r debating his ill anwering their kindnes to lay hard^r and more vnwelcome condicions vpon him. Brill aire and such stories as these are somew^t alike. God send you out of both; If there be any thing wherein I may be employed I begg y^r commands. Those bookes when they are to be had I will not faile to send. M^r Widdows is not yet come for the execution of his politike petition. And the Patres Lugdunenses are oth^rwise employed, to witt, in selling their bible, w^{ch} hath been breeding this many yeares; The States have given the patent of printing it for 15 yeares vnto the translators, who have sold the old Testament to one company of Stationers, for 3000 guld. And the new Testament to anoth^r company for 3000 g. more. The question is how well this worke wilbe shaped in severall and those disagreeing Shopps, but the markett would have it so. besides y^t now many mens mouths are open against the worke it selfe, as being needlesse, or however partially done, but this discourse wilbe Loud^r hereaft^r. I must trouble you no long^r. I pray God send you a wind and a happy journey, my humble service and my pittie to my Lady, I pray you, and so I rest Your most humble and thankefull Servant,

STEPHEN GOFFE.

LEYDEN, March 6.

[Addressed] To the right worp^{ll} my worthy frend S^r William Boswell Kt. Resident for His Ma^{tie} of great Brittain in the Low Countries. These dd. Briell.

[Endorsed] Goffe. 9. March. 1634. Leyden. Dauenport. &c.²

JOHN DAVENPORT TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL

HONORABLE SIR, — When I first Came into these parts, my purpose was to stay he[re] but 3 or 4 moneths, and, that time being expired, to returne for England my nati[ve] Countrey, had not the sinister and slanderous informaçon, whereof I complained in [my] last, exasperated the ArchB^p. of Cant: to reproachfull inuectives, and bitter mena[ces] against me in the High Comission, whereby my returne is made much more difficult and hazardous then I could suspect, when, in that letter, I sayd, I am willing to exercise those gifts which God hath giuen me &c, I vsed that expression not in affectation, but as fittest to represent my present state, and to intimate that I am not engaged by any relation of office for continuance here; which, being

¹ This may refer to Giles Widdowes.

² Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 194.

added to what I then wrote, and the vnseasonablenes of two or three moneths (after my arriuell) for trauayle, and that I was but once at the Hague, in transitu, before the last time, when I trauayled thither purposely to present my selfe and seruice to your Ho: will make a full apollogy for my seeming neglect in that particular. The particulars, wherein I have changed, are no other than the same, for which many worthy ministers and lights eminent for godlines and learning haue suffered the loss of theyre ministry and liberty; some whereof are now in perfect peace, and rest, others are dispersed in seuerall countreyes, and some yet liue in England as private persons, who were and are loyall and faithfull subiects to theyre soueraigne, and haue witnessed against hæresyes, and Schysme and against all sectaryes, as Familists, Anabaptists and Brownists, against all which I also witnes, in this place, wherevnto I had not come, if I could haue bene secure of a safe and quiett abode in my deare natiue country.

If that way of questioning should pass vpon all men, which your wisdom iudgeth meete in this case (as will appear vpon your reuew of the second question) I thinck, they that iudge me will be found, in some particulars, to haue spoken against the gou'ment of England. All that I spake was concerning the gesture of sitting, vsed in this countrey, in receiuing the Sacrament of y^e Lords supper, which I approued, and preferred before kneeling, grounding what I sayd vpon Luke 22. 27 to 31 wherein I named not England nor the gouernment thereof, and so carryed the discourse, that it might be applyed as well to the popish or lutheran custom here as to any other, and passed it ouer so breifly that all I sayd may be written in a very few lines: nor did I euer heare that any man tooke offence thereat, but this informer, who was discontented the weeke before at a sermon wherein some Arminian errors were touched vpon by me, which quickened him to watch for some aduantage, wherevpon he might ground an accusation.

Whereas it pleased you to question vpon oath whether I haue not bene Cause, or Conscious of any English bookes, or treaties printed or published in these parts since my coming ouer, or now in press, wherein the present orders and gouernm^t of Engl: in church affayres are traduced, and vndermined? my answer (but without oath till I shall be lawfully called therevnto) is negative. Dr Ames his last booke instituted a fresh suit against ceremonies is the onely booke, that I know of, which hath bene published since my coming into these parts, that booke with y^e præface was printed before I came from England, yea before the authors death, who was buried before my arriuell here, nor haue I dispersed any of them in England, or in these countreyes. My profession of to being still his Ma^{ties} loyall and faythfull subiect is in simplicity and trueth, neyther shall they disproue it, who traduce me, and if they proceed according to these beginnings, I shall be constrained to declare

myne innocencie in an Apollogy printed to the vew of the world, and therein to cõmunicate the grounds, wherevpon my iudgm^t and practise was altered, and the reason of my departure thence hither; with such observations as I haue made in both places.¹ But it is not my purpose so to doe, vnles the continuance of iniurious aspersion make it necessary, in which case the law of God and of nature bindeth men to such a Vindicãon of theyre innocency as the case requireth. Oh that the good hand of God would bring it to pass that those vgly vizzards of disloyalty and schysme being pulled off, the persons that are besmeared and deformed with these obloquies might be represented to his Ma^{tie} in theyre owne shape and colours, viz. in the tendernes of theyre conscience, in the peaceablenes of theyre disposition, and in the simplicity of theyre intentions for the good of church and commons vnder his Royall Gouvernm^t for the continuance of whose life, and raigne in peace and prosperity I doe and shall (as I am bound) daily prostrate my selfe with my poore prayers before the throne of grace. What account of my wayes I tender to your Ho: I doe it as to his sacred Ma^{tie}, whose worthy Agent and instrument you are in these parts, in hope that you will make such vse of it as may conduce to the satisfaction of Authority and my peace. For which Noble favour I shall alwayes pray that you may be employed in Honorable seruices, and blessed with Happy success in them all yo^r dayes and shall rest Yo^r Hono^{rs} to be Cõmanded in y^e lord

JOHN DAUENPORT

AMSTERDĀ March 18. 1634. stilo locj

[Addressed] To the Right Worshipfull Sir William Boswell Knight Agent for his Ma^{tie} of Great Brittain.²

STEPHEN GOFFE TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

WORTHY SIR,—I had thought not to have written vnto you till I could have done it to some purpose, in relating the issue of M^r Damparts busines, and sending those bookes of Salmasius to have made vp that discourse de tñō vitæ compleat. But these are not yet come forth; and the Amstert^t busines will not come to its period till the first monday in May, at w^{ch} time M^r Dampart is to give vp his finall answere. You left him to meet with 3 deputies of the Classis, w^{ch} vpon his returne at last he did, desiring M^r Forbes³ and M^r Peters who went

¹ Davenport appears to have printed such an "Apology," as Dr. Dexter mentions in his bibliography of Congregationalism, a "Protestation on occasion of a Pamphlet entitled 'A Iust Complaint' &c. published by a nameless Person." The Iust Complaint appeared in 1634, and the Protestation in 1635.

² Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 196.

³ John Forbes, who had endured much persecution for his belief.

with him to assist him should be admitted to the Conference, but that being not Granted he was constrained to venture alone, where yet he refused to discourse, and entreated liberty to commence his grievances in writing to the classis. That was granted and in the next classis read; to w^{ch} their sentence was; that if by the next classis w^{ch} is the 1 monday in May he did not fully assent vnto these Conclusions w^{ch} the 5 ministers before had made that he should be declared incapable of y^t charge, and y^t aft^rward he should not preach, to disturbe or make a schisme in y^e congrega^on; This hath cost Forbes and Peters and Batchellour anothe^r journey to Amsterdam, who have (as they phraise it) strengthened him, and M^r Batchellour told me himselfe, that M^r Damp: will not nor cannot yeald vnto their classis, and that he is resolved not to stay; And they speake it in the praise of M^r Peters courage and zeale that he should often vse this speach to M^r Dampport. Take heed M^r Dampport what you do, for you were as good yeald to the English B^ps as to the Dutch classis. I shall labour to get copies of the Condictions of the 5 ministers, and of M^r Dampports Le^fe to the classis, and their final sentence, when it shall come forth, and w^t hath passed in writing betwixt them. In the meane time I was willing to send this; that I might not seeme negligent in my duty vnto you, vnto wh^o I am bound to ow my selfe. This passage hath not brought me nor the marcheants one word of that busines w^{ch} concernes vs. I am now in the Hage with my Colonel in his new house, His Lady is come, and I hope I shall find a free, and happy, and every way desirable being there, especially if amongst your many businesses, and in that great distance I may still continue the happines in your favour, to receave the influence of y^r directions and counsell for my studyes and life; your kinsman at Leyden is very well, and doth proceed in p^rserving and advancing his good mind. I am not so gon fr^o thence, but that I have quarter there still; and shall studie all the waies I can to approve my selfe your servant, in him, and in w^t I conceive you would judge fittest for me to do, especially in this happy leisure w^{ch} I hope or vacancy fr^o the feild this sommer will allow me. I pray you p^rsent my humble service for me vnto my Lady Boswell, whose tedious passage I was sad for. I hope God will prosper you more luckely backe vnto vs, if it be best for you. And so I rest Your humblest and most thankfull Servant

STEPHEN GOFFE.

April 17 M Batchellour is taken on by the West Indy company, and will go to Farnabucca.

[Addressed] To the right Worpll my Noble frend Sr William Boswell at White-Hall this.

[Endorsed] Goffe 17 April, 1634. Hague.¹

¹ Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 198.

GRIFFIN HIGGS TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

HON^{BLE} SIR,—The want of busines, or Newes enforceth me to trouble you with a Ceremonie of my service. I have perswaded M^r Widdowes to forbear his suite for a Dutch pension at Leyden, vntill your returne, and then to be wholly guided by your wisdom. M^r Can of Amsterdam, (as I Conjecture) hath lately putt forth a Pamphlett against the Church of England;¹ which I borrowed for your secretarie, to peruse, and to send you the Contents of it, but I cannot yett gett the Booke to send you. M^r Dampont is still a Non-Conformist to the Dutch Church, as well as to the English: in many points: one is the not-baptizing of Infants, vules he approve the parents faith, and life: wherevpon the Dutch ministers have silenced him, and (without Conformitie to their orders before the first of May) they doe peremptorily reject him. M^r Thursby is a suiter for that place: M^r Pagett, and the Dutch-ministers, (vnto whom according to my advice, he addresseth himselfe) doe much favour him: and (whatsoever the issue of his suite be) it is manifest, that the Dutch ministers doe mislike our Non-Conformists, and would more easilie entertaine conformable men of learning, and good life, and moderation. ffor they doe now professe at Amsterdam, that they will not continue the stipend to any English minister who comes against the King of Englands pleasure. When any thing shall happen here worthy of your eares, I shall trouble you with it: meanwhile, my humble service presented to the truly virtuous Lady the Lady Boswell, I Leave you to the protection of the All-mightie, and rest your most affectionate ffriend to serve you

GRIFFIN HIGGS.

April 9 S. Vet. 1634 from her matie of Bohemia her Court, at the Hage.

[Addressed] To the Honor^{ble} my singular good ffriend S^r William Boswell Knight, Agent for his matie of great Brittain with the states of the Low Countries.

[Endorsed] Dr Higgs 1^o April 1634. Hague.²

GEORGE BEAUMONT TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

S^R—Yours by M^r Cubitt I have receiued, wherein your wonted vigilancy for, and honour to, our Deere Moth^r, with respects to him whose ioy and glory tis, to be your seruant and so to approoue himself, is more then fully expressed. To particulars I can make no oth^r re-

¹ John Canne, successor to Henry Ainsworth as pastor of the English church at Amsterdam. He printed in this year his "Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England." It can hardly be described as a pamphlet.

² Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 200.

monstrance, then your owne wisdom can better dictate, you know that sort of men &c. tis true *M^r Dauenport* hath bin reported out of towne, vpon w^t grounds whether to repayre health or otherwise I know nothing, yet I beleuee your lettre may haue come to his hands, tis the *Priscilian* pietie to preach and practice reseruations, nor is the *Precisian* behind in any craft that may conceale themselues. That w^{ch} you leaue to the last place I must take notice of in the first, as concerning my particular most: that you wonder att the Question (by on) whether you had forbidden *M^r Dampont* to preach in Rotterdam because it was sayd you had; I confesse that clause troubled me much, and it is on misery attends euen the highest fauours to be entrusted wth Secrecyes. When you say you wrote to the Party Satturday was Sennitt, I cannot tell w^t constructions the man might make of your lines, but this I heard, the last weeke *M^{rs} Forbes* comeing to towne, condoled their losse of *M^r Dauenport* who shee sayd was Silenced, so it went to *M^{rs} Amie* from her to others. *M^r Church* Gott it and it seemes *M^r Cubitt* tooke it vp from him: whence *M^{rs} Forbes* (saue from *Damponts* mouth) should haue it I cannot Guesse, for my part I protest in verbo Sacerdotis no man had any hint from me much lesse relatiō, saue *M^r Powell* and that sub sigillo too of whom I am as confident as I desire you to be of me, it may be the cōmon fate of thinges shortly to follow preuented the thinge it selfe by rumours before. Be it howeuer, I haue told you all I know, wⁱⁿ I hope you will rest satisfied. I humbly beseech you they may not be false prophets, but that you will helpe their Spirits to hitt on a truth for this once. His Booke I heard not of, but by you I shall enquire after it and examine it according to your cōmand, and send my markes in the Margin, if att least I can gett it. *M^r Deputy* presents his seruice to you, and will wait your best leysure and health till Tuesday next, if your health by then shall answer our hopes and prayers; or till you please, if he shall heare from you before to the contrary; as desireing to receiue that honour of being presented to His Ma^{tie} by your hand. by the first hand I can send you shall not fail of the cōmon prayerbookes howeuer the next weeke God willing I will wait vpon you so rests Your humble and thankful Servant

GEO BEAUMONT

ROTTERDĀ Aprill 27, 1636.

M^r Archer presents his humble Service and thankses for your remembrance of him in this extremity who indeed is in cause I haue not bin wth you this weeke hetherto.

You may p^{ceiue} I was not negligent though some carriadges of thinges were in cause you receiued not this letter in that due time it was both penned and intended: *M^r Deputy* on day resolueing to stay till tuesday next weeke and the next day altering (by others p^suations)

to go for the Hagh, presently putt me beside all as you may please to conceiue, I pray God our yong counsellours abuse not his facility too farr, as they do their betters too much but ~~no~~ more of that.

Since I wrote this former part I have enquired of M^r Damp^{ts} booke, tis true it is out, but himself (as the printer told me) had the whole impression (being att the whole charge of all himselfe) w^{ch} came to 400 and 50 Guilders, tis a booke in 4to. as he sayes of about 40 sheetes. This is all I can say to that.

I sent you by M^r Cholmer on thursday your Co: p^r ra^r booke in lattin, wth that of Cartwrights your owne Copie and that one I light on in London, wth the booke I borrowed of M^r Warren in your name viz. Gods loue to mankind. Why I sent not my letter then I had rather tell you when I come then be large heer. The Noyse heer is much louder about Damp^{ort} viz. that I brought a letter to the Ll^s from the King to inhibit him I am rayled att euery where wth open mouth and *Fletch^r of Amsterdam* hath ouer table in the English house vented his rage in so foulmouthed rayleinges that those that heard them, only tell me that the abuse was intollerable, but what, how, or wherin, out of pure modesty they will not tell me, but I doubt not I shall learne hereafter. You may please when I come to put me in mind of the word (Salute) and I shall possibly giue you other and those probable reasons of further satisfaction touching that you wonder att.

M^r Archer lies Drawinge to his long home and I feare will hardly suruiue your reception of this. So soon as possibly I can I will come to the Hagh for I much desire to speake wth you and as euer to approue my selfe Your faithfull Seruant

GEO BEAUMONT

ROTTERDAM, April 30, 1636.

I am confidently informed that M^r Damp^{ort} is att the Hagh att some priuate house.

He hath heere accepted to be their Doctor but another must be pastor.¹

SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL TO JOHN DAVENPORT.

M^k DAMPORT, — Now aboue ten dayes since I prayed you by letters (w^{ch} were left at your lodgeing in Rotterdam) to lett mee speak wth you wth all conuenient speed. wherof because I haue heth^{to} receiued no answer, I have thought best to put you againe in mind, being Yo^r loueing freind

WILL : BOSWELL

I must give you thanks for sending mee yo^r book, whereof I wish there had neue^r been occasion.

HAGHE, 7 May, 1636.²

¹ Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 237; ² 244.

According to the notice of Davenport in the "Dictionary of National Biography," no less than six publications were issued by him between 1634 and 1636, and before he left for New England in May, 1637. These publications are thus named by the writer of that notice, Mr. A. Wood Renton:

1. A Letter to the Dutch Classis, containing a just complaint against an unjust doer. 1634.

2. Certain Instructions delivered to the Elders of the English Church deputed, which are to be propounded to the Pastors of the Dutch Church in Amsterdam. 1634.

3. A Report of some Passages or Proceedings about his calling to the English Church in Amsterdam, against John Paget. 1634.

4. Allegations of Scripture against the Baptising of some kinds of Infants. 1634.

5. Protestation about the publishing of his writings, 1634.

6. An Apologeticall Reply to the Answer of W. B[est]. 1636.

Of these titles Dr. Dexter mentions three, and attributes only 5 and 6 to Davenport's pen. No. 1 he properly enters as by an anonymous writer (for which he has Davenport's own authority), to which No. 5 was Davenport's reply. Paget wrote "An Answer to the unjust complaints of W. Best. . . . Also an Answer to Mr. J. Davenport touching his report of some passages," etc., thus identifying No. 3 as one of Davenport's issues. No. 4 is certainly on a subject which was of immediate concern to Davenport.

It is strange that I can find no title even of the work attributed to W. Best and which called out replies from Paget and Davenport. It is possible that the title of Paget — "Answer to the unjust complaints of W. Best" — may be a play upon the title of the anonymously issued "A Iust Complaint against an Vniust Doer," and of which Best came to be known as the writer. If this supposition is tenable, we have a triangular controversy, in which Davenport found himself opposed to both Best and Paget, and Paget was opposed to both Best and Davenport. Under these conditions it is not strange to read of "our troubles" in Amsterdam.

Remarks were made during the meeting by the senior VICE-PRESIDENT, WILLIAM R. THAYER, BARRETT WENDELL, CHARLES C. SMITH, HENRY W. HAYNES, and CHARLES R. CODMAN.